# Exhibit 12

Plaintiffs' Corrected Averment of Jurisdictional Facts and Evidence and/or Statement of Facts as to Defendant Al Rajhi Bank
Pursuant to Rule 56.1

### In the Matter Of:

In re: Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001

# JONATHAN M. WINER



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1	UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
2	SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK
3	
4	In re: Terrorist Attacks
5	on September 11, 2001
6	03 MDL 1570 (GBD)(SN) ECF Case
7	/
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9	The Above-Captioned Video-Recorded Deposition of
10	JONATHAN M. WINER
11	9:28 a.m 3:35 p.m.
12	January 12, 2024
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23	REPORTED BY:
24	STEVEN POULAKOS, RPR
25	JOB NO: J10746455



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8	The above-captioned video-recorded
9	deposition of JONATHAN M. WINER was held on Friday,
10	January 12, 2024, 2024, commencing at 9:28 a.m., at the
11	Law Offices of Cozen O'Connor, 1200 19th Street, N.W.,
12	Washington, D.C. 20036, before Steven Poulakos, Notary
13	Public.
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20	REPORTED BY: Steven Poulakos, RPR
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January 12, 2024

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12	OPERATOR
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1			INDEX	
2		De	eposition of JONATHAN M. WINER	
3			January 12, 2024	
4	Examinat	cion by	y:	Page
5	Ms. Erb			10
6				
7	Exhibit	No.		Marked
8	Exhibit	JW1	Expert report	16
9	Exhibit	JW2	CIA report	22
10	Exhibit	JW3	Account statement for Osama bin	52
11			Laden	
12	Exhibit	JW4	Remarks by Treasury Secretary Paul	65
13			O'Neill	
14	Exhibit	JW5	A report with a redaction key	76
15	Exhibit	JW6	A translation	83
16	Exhibit	JW7	A spreadsheet with a translation	89
17	Exhibit	JW8	FATF	93
18	Exhibit	JW9	From the FATF website	99
19	Exhibit	JW10	FATF website for Saudi Arabia	103
20	Exhibit	JW11	FATF website	111
21	Exhibit	JW12	An intelligence assessment	161
22	Exhibit	JW13	A translation of a document	173
23	Exhibit	JW14	Not entered	191
24				
25				
				l



1	PROCEEDINGS
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3	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Here begins the video
4	recorded deposition of Jonathan Winer taken in the
5	matter in re terrorist attacks on September 11th, 2001,
6	in the U.S. District Court, Southern District of New
7	York. Today's date is January 12th, 2024. The time is
8	9:28. This deposition is being held at 1200 19th
9	Street, Northwest, Washington, D.C. The court reporter
10	is Steve Poulakos. The video camera operator is Kim
11	Johnson both on behalf of Esquire.
12	Will counsel please introduce yourselves
13	and state whom you represent.
14	MS. ERB: This is Nicole Erb with White &
15	Case on behalf of Al-Rajhi Bank.
16	MS. KOWNACKI: Nicolle Kownacki, White &
17	Case on behalf of Al-Rajhi Bank.
18	MR. SEQUEIRA: Reuben Sequeira for Al-Rajhi
19	Bank.
20	MR. MAHAFFEY: Mike Mahaffey for Al-Rajhi
21	Bank.
22	MR. AKROUK: Nwor Akrouk for Al-Rajhi Bank.
23	MR. RATTEY: Justin Rattey, Jones Day on
24	behalf of the Dubai Islamic Bank.
25	MR. CARTER: Sean Carter from Cozen



1	O'Connor along with my colleague, Scott Tarbutton.
2	We're here for the plaintiffs and the witness.
3	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: And on Zoom? Anyone?
4	Will the court reporter please swear in the
5	witness.
6	Whereupon,
7	JONATHAN M. WINER,
8	called as a witness, having been first duly sworn to
9	tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the
10	truth, was examined and testified as follows:
11	MR. MAHAFFEY: Sean, can you hang on a
12	second? I think we do have some people on the line.
13	MR. CARTER: Yeah, we clearly do.
14	MR. MAHAFFEY: Yeah. And I'll say for our
15	client, Al-Rajhi Bank, we have Abdulrhman Almussaed
16	from the legal department.
17	MR. CARTER: If there's anyone else on the
18	line, please introduce yourself and make yourself
19	known.
20	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Could the people on Zoom
21	identify yourselves?
22	MS. BEMBRY: Yes. This is Aisha Bembry
23	from Lewis Baach. Also on Zoom, my colleague, Jon
24	Gryskiewicz. We're from Lewis Baach and we represent
25	MWL, IIRO and certain charity officials.



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January 12, 2024

MR. GOETZ: Frederick Goetz for the World 1 2 Association of Muslim Youth or Assembly of Muslim 3 Youth. Okav. Witness has been sworn. 4 MS. ERB: 5 EXAMINATION BY MS. ERB 6 Q Good morning. 7 Just one last housekeeping MS. ERB: 8 I expect that this deposition will elicit 9 confidential information of Al-Rajhi Bank and perhaps Therefore, I provisionally designate 10 its customers. the deposition as confidential in accordance with the 11 12 NBL protective order and I would ask that if anybody is 13 on the line that is not subject to that protective 14 order if they could identify themselves. Okay. Good 15 morning. 16 Nicole, just -- for the record MR. CARTER: just for classification, I think this is already 17 18 well-known, but we're reserving our right with regard 19 to the confidentiality designations. MS. ERB: Thanks. That's fine. 20 BY MS. ERB: 21 22 Q Good morning. 23 Good morning. Α 24 0 Can you please state your name for the 25 record?



1	A My name is Jonathan M. Winer.
2	Q And, Mr. Winer, before we begin and get
3	and begin discussing the subjects of our our the
4	topics today
5	MS. ERB: Did somebody just join? Do we
6	need to identify
7	MR. SHEPS: Yes. Robert Robert Sheps.
8	BY MS. ERB:
9	Q Okay. before we get started on the
LO	substance of the deposition, I wanted to just be clear
L1	on a few terms that I know we'll be using today and
L2	just make sure that we understand those terms.
L3	MS. ERB: Should we pause and address the
L4	people who are joining? Who just joined?
L5	PATRICK: I apologize. This is Patrick
L6	with Esquire confirming that our exhibit tech is
L7	connected. I see Baily is connected. I'll disconnect
L8	at this point.
L9	BAILY: Yes, sir. Thank you.
20	MR. CARTER: And while we're addressing
21	this, is there do we know why we're still getting an
22	alert when everyone joins? Is there any way to mute
23	that?
24	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: I was waiting for them
25	to make me host, so I could do that.



1 Baily, can you mute the incoming sound? 2 Currently Patrick is host. BAILY: If he 3 gives it -- passes it over, I can turn that off for 4 you. 5 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Thank you. 6 PATRICK: Okay. Baily is host. Thank you. 7 And I just removed the sound, so that should not occur 8 anymore. 9 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Thank you very much. Ι 10 think we're good now. 11 MS. ERB: Okay. Thank you very much. 12 BY MS. ERB: 13 Mr. Winer, apologies. So before we get 14 started on the substance of our discussion today, I 15 just wanted to make sure we're on the same page when we 16 make references to certain terms, right? So we are referring to charities today. When I refer to 17 18 charities, I am referring to the charities that you 19 discuss in your report, al-Heramain Islamic Foundation or al-Heramain, IIRO, Muslim World League, the 20 21 International Islamic Relief Organization, IIRO, and 22 the World Assembly of Muslim Youth, WAMY. 23 And when I -- I might refer to those as the 24 charities, the subject charities, the relevant 25 charities. So when you hear me say charities, that's



what I'm referring to unless I specify otherwise and if 1 2 we can agree on that terminology, I would appreciate 3 that. Is that fine for you? I understand that's the terminology that 4 5 you'll be using in your questions of me. 6 Thank you. And when I --Q 7 MS. BEMBRY: Counsel, this is -- counsel, 8 this is Aisha Bembry from Lewis Baach and we represent, 9 MWL and IIRO. I would just caution about using 10 charities generally to include all charities and not specify. I mean, I'll make a specific objection, but I 11 12 have -- I do have a bit of concern about you indicating 13 that all charities -- that depends on the question. 14 I'll just make a preliminary objection to using the 15 term charities to include all charities without 16 specifying which charity you are referring to specifically. 17 18 MS. ERB: That's no problem. Understood. BY MS. ERB: 19 20 When I refer to the bank or Al-Rajhi 21 Bank -- when I refer to the bank, I'm referring to Al-Rajhi Bank. So Al-Rajhi Bank is the defendant here 22 23 and I represent Al-Rajhi Bank, but I'm not going to say 24 Al-Rajhi Bank every time. Sometimes we'll see Al-Rajhi 25 Bank referred to Al-Rajhi Banking and Investment



1 I'm going to refer to Al-Rajhi Bank or Corporation. 2 the bank. Unless I specify otherwise, that's the bank 3 I'm referring to. Is that fine for you? I understand. 4 Α 5 0 Okay. And of course when I refer to 9/11, 6 I'm referring to the attacks of -- against the United 7 States on 9/11/2001, September 11th, 2001. So we may 8 have shorthand. I want to be clear that that's what 9 I'm referring to. 10 MR. GOETZ: For the record, WAMY joins Ms. Bembry's objection as to lack of specificity using the 11 12 phrase charities. 13 BY MS. ERB: If there's anything during the course of 14 15 the deposition that is unclear either with terminology 16 or a question, please let me know. I'm happy to 17 expand. 18 And I also want to get one other 19 housekeeping point which is in your -- in your expert 20 report, sir, are you aware that under rule 26 of the 21 federal rules of civil procedure an expert witness is 22 required to provide a complete statement of all 23 opinions the witness will express and the basis and 24 reasons for them?



Yes.

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And I -- and you're comfortable that 1 Okav. 2 your expert report satisfies the obligations on experts 3 under rule 26? 4 Α Yes. Very good. And you have a -- you have a 5 0 6 background in -- as a lawyer, so you would understand 7 those obligations fully? 8 MR. CARTER: Objection. 9 MS. BEMBRY: One other housekeeping matter, 10 counsel, if I may. Of course. 11 MS. ERB: 12 Again, this is Aisha Bembry on MS. BEMBRY: 13 behalf of MWL, IIRO and certain charity officials. 14 just like to note for the record that expert discovery 15 with respect to the defendants that I represent, again, 16 MWL, IIRO and the charity officials, closed in 2021. 17 Mr. Winer did submit reports against those defendants 18 which reports have never been supplemented. The period 19 of expert discovery for my clients was fully litigated 20 and closed in 2021. Accordingly MWL, IIRO and charity officials 21 reserve all rights with respect to the testimony 22 23 offered today by Mr. Winer and the testimony that is 24 the subject of his expert report being discussed today. 25 Thank you.



1	BY MS. ERB:	
2	Q If we can	
3	MR. GOETZ: Frederick Goetz on behalf of	
4	excuse me. Frederick Goetz on behalf of World Assembly	
5	of Muslim Youth. We join in that position separately	
6	as to WAMY.	
7	MS. ERB: If we can please pull up tab 1,	
8	which is Mr. Winer's expert report, and we will be	
9	entering that as the first exhibit.	
10	(Winer Exhibit JW1 was marked for purposes	
11	of identification.)	
12	BY MS. ERB:	
13	Q So so, Mr. Winer, we have a physical	
14	copy of your report which as a courtesy we're happy to	
15	provide for you if you don't	
16	A Please.	
17	Q Okay.	
18	MR. CARTER: Counsel, what is the naming	
19	structure we're using for today's exhibits?	
20	MS. ERB: I'm looking at my JW1, so same	
21	as yesterday.	
22	MR. CARTER: Okay.	
23	BY MS. ERB:	
24	Q Mr. Winer, can you please confirm that	
25	what's in front of you is a copy of your expert report	



dated October 4th, 2023?

A I'm looking through it right now in order
to ensure that it is.

MR. CARTER: There's -- there was at least one instance of some highlighting. I don't know that that's from the original report. There's another instance of highlighting, another --

THE WITNESS: I don't recognize the highlighting. So it looks like a report that's been annotated by someone.

11 BY MS. ERB:

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Q Okay. Well, do you have a separate -- your own copy of the report that you would prefer to use?

A I have one, but it's not -- it doesn't include my lectures, presentations and that material.

Q Okay. We can give you that.

A So I think it would be good to have this version. This looks like the correct version, but without the annotations.

Q Yeah, that's no problem. My team will take care of that. This is a courtesy copy. We have got the exhibit copy online, but --

A Okay.

Q Yeah. So we just wanted to -- I think it's going to be easier for you today if you have a physical



1	copy in front	of you.
2	A I	agree with you.
3	Q Sc	do we want to go off the record while
4	we while we	e take care of this or okay. We can
5	do you want to	o okay.
6	MF	R. CARTER: Let's go off the record just
7	for a second.	
8	TH	HE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off the record at 9:40.
9	(I	Deposition recessed at 9:40 a.m.)
LO	(I	Deposition resumed at 9:55 a.m.)
L1	TF	HE VIDEOGRAPHER: We're back on the record
L2	at 9:55.	
L3	BY MS. ERB:	
L4	Q Th	nank you, Mr. Winer.
L5	I'	d like to just turn to appendix one of
L6	your report wh	nich I understand is at page 218 of the
L7	PDF. And I ju	ust want to confirm, sir, that these are
L8	the materials	that you relied on or considered in
L9	preparing your	report in addition to those that are
20	cited in the r	report, correct?
21	A (F	Reviewing document.)
22	Th	ney should be.
23	Q If	we could
24	A I	believe they are. Let's go to the next
25	page, please.	



These are the documents that are included 1 0 2 as appendix one of the report? 3 Α Right. It looks right to me. 4 If we can turn to appendix 2 which I 5 understand is at page 228 of the PDF. 6 That's right. Α 7 And this is a copy of your CV, correct? 0 8 Α Yes. 9 And from your CV, I see that you've worked 10 extensively in both the public sector and in private practice, correct? 11 12 That's correct. Α 13 And when you were in the public sector, you O 14 did not hold a position at the U.S. Department of the 15 Treasury; is that right? 16 Α That's correct. I was at the State 17 Department. 18 And in your time in government, you did not 19 work as a bank regulator at any point, did you? 20 Α My work was not as a bank regulator, that's 21 correct. 22 And when you were in private practice, you Q did not work as a financial accountant; is that right? 23 24 I was practicing law in private practice, Α



not accountancy.

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1	Q And you never sat for the CPA exam,		
2	correct?		
3	A I'm not a CPA.		
4	Q And you were never employed by a bank; is		
5	that correct?		
6	A I represented banks, provided advice and		
7	counsel to banks, a number of banks and clients at		
8	different times.		
9	Q But you were never employed at a bank? You		
10	were never an employee at a bank?		
11	A I was not a bank employee, that's correct.		
12	Q And you would not consider yourself a		
13	banker?		
14	A I'm not a banker.		
15	Q In your report, you state that you relied		
16	on many different types of material in preparation of		
17	your report, correct?		
18	A Yes.		
19	Q And among the materials that you rely		
20	heavily on in your report are CIA reports, correct?		
21	MR. CARTER: Objection to form.		
22	THE WITNESS: I included CIA reports as		
23	among the materials that I relied on, that's correct.		
24	BY MS. ERB:		
25	Q And would you agree that CIA reports		



generally do not reveal their sources, correct?

A In the report, I provide an extended discussion of the construction of CIA reports and their uses. And I state that they're evidence based and they also intentionally for when they're released to the public do not include sources. When they're released to people inside the government, the sourcing is provided. And I've read many CIA reports in which the sourcing has been provided and I'm familiar with the structure of CIA reports and the extent to which they provide sourcing.

The sourcing typically is still somewhat anonymized. So it will refer to whether it is a documentary source typically or a human source. If it's a human source, it may indicate the degree to which the source is reliable. There are a variety of formulations that the CIA uses in discussing sources, but they don't reveal the individual particular source when it's a human source.

Q And when -- when CIA reports are made available to the public or declassified, the sources are often redacted, correct?

A Yes.

Q And in your report, you identify some redactions in the CIA reports that you cite and rely



1 on, correct? 2 Α I did. 3 And you acknowledge that these redactions Q 4 were in part to protect the report sources and methods? 5 Α That's correct. And when you were preparing your report, 6 0 7 did you ever try to determine the sources of the 8 intelligence in the CIA reports that you rely on? 9 Α No. 10 And while you were working at the Department of State from 1994 to 1999, I believe, did 11 12 you receive copies -- in your official capacity, did 13 you receive copies of any of the CIA reports you rely 14 on in your expert report? 15 Not to my recollection, no. Most of them Α 16 were post the time that I was there. 17 And in addition to unknown sources, 0 18 sometimes the sources used to gather intelligence are 19 otherwise unreliable, correct? 20 Α That's an incomplete statement. So it's 21 not completely correct. 22 (Winer Exhibit JW2 was marked for purposes 23 of identification.) 24 Okay. Let's -- let's bring up if we can 0

tab 30. And, Mr. Winer, just for your ease of



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1 reference, I see that they've brought you a physical 2 copy. And for your reference, this tab 30 is a CIA 3 report from August 2002 and is cited at paragraph 2.93 4 of your report which is on page 20, I believe. Have you seen this document before? 5 6 Α My report? 7 Tab 30, the CIA report from 0 No. 8 August 2002. 9 Α Yes. 10 Okay. And on page 2 of the CIA report 11 which is at CIA 00307, the report says, quote, most 12 detainees are employing counter interrogation 13 techniques and appear to be hiding detailed financial 14 information. Do you see that? 15 Α Yes. 16 And on page 3 of the report at 00308, the 17 report states detainees have provided information on 18 Al-Qaeda linked donors, fund raisers and facilitators, 19 although the information is incomplete and some almost 20 certainly is false. Do you see that? 21 Α No, I don't actually. Where, please? 22 MR. CARTER: The tech did not change the 23 page on the screen. 24 Okay. So for the technician, it MS. ERB: 25 is 00307 and it should be on the next page. And that's



the first quote I was referring to. It's at the -- I'm sorry. It's the second quote I'm referring to. It should be in the -- under the heading donors, fund raisers and facilitators on the right-hand column.

THE WITNESS: Yes. I read that.

BY MS. ERB:

Q Okay. And I take it you would agree that any data points provided by these sources in this CIA report would not be reliable absent corroboration, correct?

A It depends. You have to look at the total context of any particular source and the CIA routinely does that. So when you see a full CIA report, the full report will provide you whether it's an established source, whether it's a reliable source or source whose reporting has previously been found to be reliable. They'll provide context.

So the context provided here says that the detainees which are a particular type of source in a particular setting -- I assume from this this is Guantanamo. I'd have to go back and look at the document to be clear on that. It refers to captured and arrested Al-Qaeda operatives. So they're under custody, have provided information on donors, fund raisers, facilitators. Some is incomplete and some



almost certainly is false.

So there you go to appendices A, B and C for more details and look at the sourcing there. So it depends very much on the context and the other information that the CIA has available to it as to how they weigh it and what they weight.

Q And did you take any steps to corroborate the statements in this report before you included it in your expert report?

A Yes.

Q Can you tell us what you did to corroborate these statements?

A Yes. What I did was I looked at the CIA reports and I looked at ARB's own documents and all the other information available to me. And I weighed the various elements of the evidence and looked to see whether some of the -- whether the statements that I was looking at from the CIA received any corroboration from the documents provided in the discovery.

And I found various types of documents in the discovery some of which were other reports from other government agencies, some of which were reports from other governments, some of which were in designation materials, some of which were in ARB's own documents, some of which were in the navsi luke (ph)



documents, some of which were in discovery provided by others in connection with the litigation and looked at that all together.

So I tried to do an all source analysis rather than merely relying on a sentence or two sentences or three sentence from any particular report. The reason why my report goes on at the length that it does is I was seeking to put down as many data points as possible on which I based my opinions.

Q In footnote 35 on page 20 of your report, you cite the CIA report we've been just discussing, but I don't see that you have flagged for the Court or the reader of your expert report the concerns raised in the CIA report itself about the incomplete and almost certainly false data points that were included; is that correct?

A It's correct that I did not include every sentence from every CIA report and for every government report that I read in my already 200-page report.

Q Excuse me, Mr. Winer. That's not -- that was not the question.

A I'm sorry. It is the question.

Q The question I had was: Did you identify in your footnote for the Court that information in the 2002 CIA report you cited according to the CIA was



January 12, 2024

1 incomplete and some almost certainly false? 2 Do you mean aside from MR. CARTER: 3 footnoting the report itself? Yes. Is he expecting that the 4 MS. ERB: 5 Court is going to go through each of the CIA reports 6 and determine which information the CIA itself is 7 calling almost certainly false and incomplete? 8 THE WITNESS: Pardon me, ma'am. I think 9 you're mischaracterizing my work and I think you're 10 mischaracterizing the report itself. You have to look at the totality of the report and pulling out one 11 12 footnote from the report does not look at the totality 13 of the report. I'm happy to go through the totality of 14 that report with you, but to cherrypick a particular footnote which imposes a standard kind of limitation 15 16 that the CIA puts on material when it's evaluating 17 material is I think incorrect and wrong and a 18 misapplication of how one goes about looking at U.S. 19 government's intelligence reports. I just think it's not correct. 20 21 BY MS. ERB: 22 If you can turn, sir, to section 6.82 of Q 23 your report which is at page 54. And if you could look 24 at the last sentence of 6.82 where you say finished 25 intelligence is then distributed to the government



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consumers when they ask questions about it, seek further information or analysis, raise queries about the particular sourcing that went into the document and/or use the finished intelligence as a foundation for policy decisions. Do you see that sentence?

Yes, ma'am. Α

0 Okay. And would you agree that where statements in CIA reports are not corroborated for this -- by this type of questioning by government consumers or others that those uncorroborated statements are less reliable than the corroborated statements?

There are a number of assumptions that you've put into that sentence which makes it a very complicated sentence. You have to look at the material in the CIA report and evaluate it against all other information known to you. Certainly the only process for evaluating a CIA report is not a process of government consumers asking questions about it.

I have reviewed probably certainly hundreds and probably thousands of CIA reports in the many years in which I held a clearance. And the reports that I read and absorbed and had no reason to question, the reports that I read and absorbed had lots of questions about who provided further taskings. Both can be true



1	and this can be true in a situation even when a report
2	is lists that some of the information in the report
3	sourcing is of uncertain uncertain completeness or
4	may involve a source which could not be completely
5	trusted.
6	You have to then look and see whether other
7	material in the report in turn provides further
8	corroboration, whether this other information outside
9	the report that provides corroboration and you would
10	talk to the analyst about it if you had those
11	questions. So it very much depends on what's in the
12	entire report and the context.
13	Q Would you agree that an uncorroborated data
14	point is less reliable than a corroborated data point?
15	MR. CARTER: Objection to form.
16	THE WITNESS: I would want to know whether
17	a data point was corroborated or not and by what.
18	BY MS. ERB:
19	Q Sir, if you can turn to section 7.3.14 on
20	page 90 of your report.
21	A What's the section again, please?
22	Q 7.3.14 on page 90.
23	A Yes.
24	Q So there you refer to you say SAAR,
25	S-A-A-R, personally was one of the 128 members of IIRO



1	prior to 9/11, correct?
2	A Yes.
3	Q Okay. And before we go into discussing
4	this particular data point, I just want to get clear on
5	use of terminology here. So you use SAAR to refer to
6	an individual Sulaiman Abdulaziz Al-Rajhi, correct?
7	A Yes.
8	Q And you also define the Sulaiman Abdulaziz
9	Al-Rajhi Charitable Foundation as SAAR Foundation,
10	S-A-A-R Foundation, correct?
11	A No.
12	Q Not in this particular paragraph. If
13	you I'm talking I'm backing away now just to get
14	terminology because this paragraph uses the term SAAR.
15	So I want to be clear on how you're using SAAR
16	throughout your report. So for an example, if you want
17	to look at 1.2.7 of your report, you'll see use of the
18	word SAAR Foundation which I understand there you're
19	referring to the Sulaiman Abdulaziz Al-Rajhi Charitable
20	Foundation.
21	A No.
22	Q Let's go to 1.2.7 of your report. This is
23	on page 3.
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That was a question that I was asked and

the definition given to me. But the reason why I say



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1	no there is because the charitable foundation as I
2	discuss elsewhere in the report was not created in a
3	formal sense until 2000 until 2000 and yet it
4	carried out transactions before it existed, before it
5	actually had a certification and was according to
6	corporate documents founded. So
7	Q So let me just let me just interrupt you
8	for a second because are you referring now to the SAAR
9	Foundation in Virginia or the SAAR Found the
10	Al-Rajhi Charitable Foundation in Saudi Arabia?
11	A It's a complex question unfortunately
12	because of the complex facts. I'm happy to answer the
13	com provide you the context in which I'm using it
14	which is not a simple definition unfortunately for
15	reasons that are not my fault, but inherent in how the
16	charity operated.
17	Q Which charity, sir?
18	A The SAAR Foundation.
19	Q In which country, sir?
20	A In both the United States and Saudi Arabia.
21	Q Are you aware that they are separate
22	entities?
23	A I think that's an interesting and
24	complicated question.
25	Q Can you turn to section 9.57.1 of your



January 12, 2024

report and that is on page 162 of your report? 1 2 paragraph, sir, you cite to a website relating to the 3 SAAR Charitable Foundation in Saudi Arabia, but you characterize it as -- in a reference to the SAAR 4 Foundation in the United States; do you not? 5 6 Objection. MR. CARTER: 7 THE WITNESS: I don't understand the 8 question. 9 BY MS. ERB: 10 So let's look at this paragraph. statement by entities associated with and under the 11 12 apparent control of the Al-Rajhi family not provided in 13 discovery but available online shows that the SAAR 14 Foundation did not come into existence until mid 2000. 15 The online statement is set forth in the website 16 maintained by the Sulaiman Al-Rajhi Holding Company 17 regarding the Sulaiman Al-Rajhi Charitable Foundation 18 and states the following regarding the SAAR Foundation. 19 It was founded through a joint committee, et cetera, et 20 cetera, and then at the end, the philanthropic 21 institution turned to Sulaiman Abdulaziz Al-Rajhi 22 Charitable Foundation. 23 Now, when you go to the website, it's very 24 clear that this is referring to the charitable 25 foundation formed in Saudi Arabia, but when you're



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January 12, 2024

referring to SAAR Foundation here, my understanding is you're referring to the SAAR Foundation in the United States? Objection, misstates the MR. CARTER: report. Again, it's a complicated THE WITNESS: It's not a simple answer because the practices weren't simple. The SAAR Foundation, whatever the SAAR Foundation was structurally as near as I can tell, it

may have been a committee prior to 2000 in Saudi Arabia is interacting with the SAAR Foundation in the United States and directing it to make payments as if it were being made by the SAAR Foundation in the United States which in turn is owned by or held by after a certain point an entity called Humana, I believe, in the Isle of Man which in turn is getting instruction from or relating to the activities of the SAAR Foundation committee in Saudi Arabia from an entity that doesn't exist at that time, but which is using ARB. So it's very difficult to differentiate between these entities given the sequence of the structuring of the entities. BY MS. ERB:

When you're referring to the SAAR Foundation in your report then, is it fair to say that you're referring to one or the other or both without



January 12, 2024

#### distinction?

A No. I'm trying to refer to them in the ways in which they functioned at particular times given the changing legal status and the changing activities of these foundations over time. The SAAR Foundation in the United States phased out more or less at exactly the same time that the SAAR Foundation which previously as near as I can tell didn't exist legally was being given legal existence in Saudi Arabia.

So I think that it's difficult to give a lot of credence given the common management in the organization of these entities to the differentiation. And it would be not appropriate to fully differentiate their activities because they're all mixed together as is set forth in some detail, for example, in the affidavit of David Kim that was filed in the SAAR investigation in the -- criminal investigation in the United States association -- associated with operation of Green Ouest.

Q So for purposes of your report, the acronym SAAR you're using to refer to the individual SAAR Foundation, you're using it sounds like as a reference to one or the other of the charitable foundations depending on the context. Don't you agree that for purposes of the Court reviewing portions of your report



that the conflation of SAAR, SAAR Foundation when

JONATHAN M. WINER In re: Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001

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January 12, 2024

2 you -- when there are different entities involved in an 3 individual is incredibly confusing if not misleading? Objection to form. 4 MR. CARTER: THE WITNESS: I believe that the extent 5 6 that it is confusing or misleading is the result of the 7 activities of the people involved in the SAAR Foundation and the -- and in SAAR's charitable 8 9 activities, not misleading by the expert who's trying to look at the materials in front of them as evidence 10 and organize it and make sense of it. 11 BY MS. ERB: 12 13 Sir --O 14 So to the extent that it is misleading or 15 confusing, that's inherent in the actions undertaken by 16 the founder or co-founder of ARB and the head of the SAAR Charitable Committee Foundation in Saudi Arabia, 17 18 foundation in the United States, the person who put it 19 all together and those assisting him, not the expert

Q Sir, you agree that you chose the acronym SAAR to refer to the individual, correct, for purposes of your report?

who is trying to organize it, understand it and

A He's referred to that in a variety of



communicate it.

1 places. 2 I think the SAAR Foundation is referred to 3 in a variety of places. I'm not sure that the individual himself when parties are referring to the 4 5 individual that he's referred to as SAAR. That is an 6 acronym that you adopted for purposes of your report, 7 correct? 8 Α It's an acronym that I used within my 9 report, that's correct. 10 For purposes of this deposition when Okav. I am referring to the individual and I would ask when 11 12 you're referring to the individual if we can refer to 13 Sulaiman Al-Rajhi shorthand. Do you agree with that? 14 We'll see on the context. I can't agree 15 across the board. I don't think it's appropriate. 16

Q If we can turn back now to the paragraph we were looking at before which was 7.3.14 on page 90 of your report. And this is again 7.3.14. There's a reference to Sulaiman Al-Rajhi personally being one of the 128 permanent members of IIRO prior to 9/11, correct?

A Correct.

Q And if we can look now at section .11.4 on page 70 of your report. Here you cite a February 2002 CIA report. Do you see that?



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January 12, 2024

1 I don't know which paragraph you're 2 referring to. 3 Q 6.11.4 --4 Α Okay. 5 Q -- on page 70 --6 Α Yes. 7 -- of your report. And it begins the 0 8 February 27th, 2002, CIA report. Do you see that? 9 Α Yes. 10 And this report is called identifying 0 Al-Qaeda donors and fund raisers? 11 12 Α Yes. 13 In this paragraph, you point out that in Q 14 the key find -- in the key finding in this report, the 15 intelligence reporting is described as fragmentary and 16 mostly anecdotal and old. Do you see that? 17 Α Yes. 18 A bit further down in your report at 0 19 6.11.4.5 at page 71 -- do you see that? 20 Α Yes. 21 You quote the report as stating that as of 0 22 2000, Sulaiman Al-Rajhi was also one of the 128 23 permanent members of IIRO, correct? 24 Α Yes. 25 Q And as it happens, this CIA intelligence on



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     Sulaiman Al-Rajhi, this particular data point is not
 2
     reliable, correct?
 3
                 MR. CARTER:
                              Objection.
                                It's incomplete.
 4
                 THE WITNESS:
 5
     BY MS. ERB:
 6
                 Well, if you can look at your footnote 191
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 7
     at page 71. Just take a minute and read that footnote.
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          Α
                 Yes, I remember the foot -- I remember the
9
     footnote.
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                 Okav.
                 I remember the documents.
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          Α
12
                 And you reviewed those documents?
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                 Yes.
          Α
14
                 Okay. And for the record, we're describing
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15
     the documents produced by Al-Rajhi Bank and the way you
16
     say it in your footnote documented efforts by Sulaiman
     Al-Rajhi to resign from his position, this position
17
18
     being the position at IIRO, due to his having
19
     insufficient time to devote to it.
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          Α
                 Yes.
                 And in this footnote, you say that you
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     therefore don't rely on this data point from the CIA
23
     profile of the Al-Rajhi family's involvement with IIRO,
24
     correct?
25
          Α
                 That's correct.
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1	Q But you say you include the statement in
2	the report for the sake of completeness, correct?
3	A Yes.
4	Q In your footnote and by your own statement,
5	you say that the CIA was unaware of the fact that
6	Mr. Al-Rajhi, that Sulaiman Al-Rajhi had resigned from
7	the IIRO, correct? This is further down in footnote
8	191.
9	A I don't think that's an accurate
10	characterization of what I said.
11	Q Okay. Well, you say it's a fact apparently
12	not known to the CIA.
13	A (Reviewing document.)
14	I do say that.
15	Q Can you explain, sir, why you include
16	this what the CIA is calling fragmentary, anecdotal
17	and old intelligence in your expert report especially
18	when you're aware that data points in that report have
19	been shown to be unreliable?
20	MR. CARTER: Objection.
21	THE WITNESS: Sure. I'm trying to as much
22	as I can take all the evidence available to me and
23	provide an accurate summary of all of the evidence and
24	make findings based on my conclusions based on all of
25	the information. And so I'm trying to include things



regardless of what the -- what the implications might 1 2 be that I find to be overall correct assessment or analysis of the information. Now, I didn't --3 BY MS. ERB: 4 5 0 Here --Please don't interrupt me. I'm not done. 6 Α 7 Thank you. 8 In this particular case, my understanding 9 is that Sulaiman Al-Rajhi who I refer to as SAAR here 10 was affiliated with or owned, a shareholder in a related entity which is Sanabel which is providing 11 12 funding to IIRO which raised the question for me and 13 still does raise the question for me whether the meetings were unnecessary for him to attend, not worth 14 15 his time because he already had other windows or 16 insight into IIRO. This, in fact, is not contained in the CIA reporting. I didn't get to that fact in this 17 18 footnote, but it's relevant to my thinking overall. 19 So in this particular CIA report, the CIA 20 references that the intelligence is fragmenty and --21 fragmentary, anecdotal and old. And you, yourself, 22 acknowledge in your report that the data point relating 23 to Sulaiman Al-Rajhi and the IIRO board membership is 24 unreliable. And you did not rely on it for purposes of



your report?

1	A Excuse me. That's not the same thing.
2	It's not to say it's unreliable. It's saying there's
3	additional context and that I didn't rely on it because
4	they did not have the additional context in the
5	unclassified version of the report. It's different
6	between a statement to say something is not relied on
7	from saying something is unreliable. This is not the
8	same thing.
9	Q So my question is: When looking looking
10	at the entire report here which is where the CIA is
11	calling the evidence or the data points excuse me
12	fragmentary, anecdotal and old and you have confirmed
13	that, in fact, there's a fact in this report that is
14	unreliable for purposes of your report?
15	A That's a mis ma'am, that's a
16	mischaracterization of what I just said.
17	Q Okay. The data point that you are not
18	crediting in your report. You say as much in your
19	in your footnote?
20	A I'm saying that I did not rely on it. I'm
21	not saying
22	Q Right.
23	A I'm not saying that I was unaware of it or
24	that it is unreliable.
25	Q I didn't say that either.



A You said that I found that it was unreliable and that is not accurate.

Q Okay. You did not rely on it. My question is: Why did you include this report? Are you expecting the Court to go through data point by data point of this fragmentary, anecdotal and old information when you've confirmed that a fact in this report has not -- is something you are choosing not to rely on? What are you expecting the Court to do with this 2002 CIA report?

MR. CARTER: Objection to form.

THE WITNESS: It's really up to the Court to decide how to handle each expert and each expert report, and that's not for me to judge. What's for me to do is to provide as complete an account as I can the basis for which I'm finding -- making my opinions and to cite that. And here I believe I would be criticized if I failed to include this information, criticized if I do include the information. It's kind of a no win the way in which you're framing it.

Why are these -- why is this information about fragmentary nature and old in this report? It's because I'm providing the Court as well as opposing counsel as accurate and complete information as I can, but what are the information on which I based my



1	opinions. That was my goal. That's why this report is
2	the length that it is. And it's a very lengthy report.
3	It took me a lot of time to do. I had to review a
4	tremendous amount of material.
5	So that's what was in my head. That's what
6	I'm trying to do. And how the how the Court chooses
7	to deal with it is really going to be up to the Court
8	and the lawyers and the rulings there. I'm not
9	involved in that.
LO	BY MS. ERB:
L1	Q Sir, you used the term evidence over 200
L2	times in your report. When you're using the term
L3	evidence, are you including the data points from CIA
L4	reports that you rely on and cite in your report?
L5	A Yes, when they're evidence based which most
L6	of them are.
L7	Q Would you consider the data point we just
L8	discussed relating to Sulaiman Al-Rajhi's membership on
L9	the board of IIRO evidence?
20	A Yes. He was a member of the board.
21	Q In 2000?
22	A He resigned, but they were continuing to
23	send him things. So he was still a member as far as
24	they were concerned and that was for him and them to
25	work out. You want the entire context which you are



provided the entire context. 1 2 O Do you agree that --3 Α Not quite the entire context because I 4 didn't get into the Sanabel business because that 5 wasn't in the CIA report. So that seemed to me to be outside the scope of that particular data point as I 6 7 was writing the report. I'm happy to supplement if 8 that would be helpful. 9 Sir, do you -- do you agree that CIA 10 reports use caveats? 11 Α Yes. 12 And you agree that when a CIA report uses 0 13 caveated language, it means that the CIA lacks 14 sufficient information to provide a conclusive 15 statement on a particular data point? 16 It depends on what the caveat is. It's Α 17 contextual. It may mean that. It could mean other 18 things. 19 Do you agree that when caveats are used, 20 the data points being referred to are less reliable? 21 MR. CARTER: Objection. 22 THE WITNESS: It depends on the context. Ι 23 can't make a general statement about it. I'd have to 24 look at a particular statement, the particular caveat 25 and evaluate it in the context of the entire report,



1	the date, subsequent reports, a variety of other
2	things. It's all contextual.
3	BY MS. ERB:
4	Q Can you turn to paragraph 6.8.3 of your
5	report where you actually discuss caveats in CIA
6	reports? There you cite examples of caveats. For
7	example, possible would be a caveat, apparently or
8	probably?
9	A Yes.
LO	Q Would you agree that may or may have would
L1	also be a type of a caveat if used in a CIA report?
L2	A Yes.
L3	Q And would it surprise you to learn that in
L4	the CIA reports you cite, the CIA uses caveated
L5	language at least 230 times?
L6	A I didn't count it, but that's normal.
L7	Q And are you aware that some of the caveats
L8	in the CIA reports you cite concern Al-Rajhi Bank and
L9	members of the Al-Rajhi family?
20	A Yes. I believe I cite some.
21	Q Let's turn to 6.10.3.11 which is page
22	excuse me 66 of your report. Did you find that
23	paragraph?
24	A Yes.
25	O It's referring to a CIA report from 1997.



Right.

January 12, 2024

1 Do you see that?

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Q And about two-thirds of the way down of the paragraph on page 66, I recognize it continues on the next page, but just on this page about two-thirds of the way down, fourth line from the bottom, it says Al-Rajhi financial times to Islamists is inconclusive.

8 Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q And when you say that is inconclusive, that is a type of caveat or characterization of a data point that is less reliable or not fully reliable shall we say, right, inconclusive?

MR. CARTER: Objection.

THE WITNESS: I don't agree with your characterization on reliability. Let me explain if I may respond. This is as of November 20, 1997. It's facts that were available to the agency. That is how it's characterized. In my memory of this report is that the report itself is undated. It refers to that as the information available to the CIA for the purpose of this report as of that time.

It then says in the end following again a large redacted section I can't evaluate because it's two-and-a-half inches of redacted materials, Al-Rajhi



financial ties to Islamists is inconclusive. It doesn't say the information that they have is unreliable. It's making a qualitative evaluation that the totality of the information is insufficient at that point for them to reach a conclusion.

It doesn't say we have information, lots and lots of information, hundreds of pages, thousands of pages, 2,000 sources, two sources, one source, one data point. It doesn't say any of that. What it says is that as of this time, their evaluation is that it's inconclusive. So it's not about the reliability of the information.

It may be about reliability. That's possible, although it doesn't say that. It could be about the quantity of the information, the amount or number of sourcing on the information. It's a variety of things as of that time.

BY MS. ERB:

Q But it would not be -- it would not be safe to conclude that Al-Rajhi -- that there were financial ties, that Al-Rajhi had financial ties to Islamists based on all of that. Based on where the CIA came out at the time was that those ties, Al-Rajhi financial ties to Islamists is inconclusive, correct?

MR. CARTER: Objection.



1	THE WITNESS: As of the time of
2	November 20th, 1997, the information available to the
3	CIA that they used in preparing this finished
4	intelligence report was insufficient to allow them to
5	conclude that Al-Rajhi had financial ties to Islamists.
6	BY MS. ERB:
7	Q Can you look at footnote 170 of your
8	report?
9	A Yes.
LO	Q Here in this footnote, you note that this
L1	particular CIA report is carefully has contains
L2	carefully caveated assessments. Do you see that?
L3	A Yes.
L4	Q Okay. And further in your footnote here,
L5	you say later as described further in this expert
L6	report, the CIA concluded that, quote, senior Al-Rajhi
L7	family members have long supported Islamic extremists
L8	and probably know that terrorists use their bank. Do
L9	you see that?
20	A Yes.
21	Q Okay. Again, the word probably is another
22	caveat, correct?
23	A Yes. It means more likely than not.
24	Q And this later statement that you're
25	quoting comes from a 2003 CIA report?



January 12, 2024

1 Yes. May 2003, I believe. Α 2 Q So from 1997 to 2003 and all the 3 investigations that occurred in between, the CIA is still using a caveat when referencing Al-Ra -- the 4 5 Al-Rajhi family's knowledge of or ties to Islamists and 6 knowledge of whether terrorists are using the bank, 7 correct? 8 MR. CARTER: Objection to form. 9 THE WITNESS: No, I don't think that's 10 I think that that goes beyond what's stated in my footnote. What's stated in my footnotes is that 11 12 later on in this 2003 report, the CIA concluded senior 13 Al-Rajhi family members have long supported Islamic 14 extremists. The first sentence is not caveated. 15 Senior Al-Rajhi family members have long supported Islamic extremists. That's not caveated at all. And 16 then it says and probably know that terrorists use 17 18 their banks which is more likely than not. It then says Sulaiman and several Al-Rajhis 19 20 have given money to suspicious organizations and organization -- individuals and organizations worldwide 21 22 moreover. Sulaiman's tight control of Arabic which I 23 believe is a reference to Al-Rajhi Bank activities 24 suggests he is willing that his bank is attractive to

extremists. So that's the conclusion that they reach



1	in May of 2003.
2	BY MS. ERB:
3	Q So in use of the word probably know that
4	terrorists use their bank, you agree that is a caveat
5	that is used in 2003 following coming six years
6	later from the 1997 CIA report, right?
7	A I read the sentence as I just did.
8	Q Okay.
9	A And what it is is it's a statement of not
LO	with absolute doubt, not beyond all reasonable doubt.
L1	It's more likely than not. That's what prob the
L2	word probably means. It means more likely than not.
L3	It doesn't mean beyond all reasonable doubt, the
L4	standard in a criminal case.
L5	Q And when see references to Islamists or
L6	extremists, are you equating those terms with
L7	terrorists?
L8	A You have to look at the context in which
L9	the words are being used. It depends. I look at the
20	total context of a particular report or a particular
21	document and try to assess its meaning because it's not
22	always used in the same way. It depends.
23	Q And do you do you think that the term
24	Islamists in 1997 was referring to terrorists?
25	A We'd have to go back and look at the



context of that report in order to be able to assess it in its context. I'm not prepared to make a generic statement about it.

Q And when you see that in the same report they say that the senior Al-Rajhi family members probably know that terrorists use their bank, but then later they say that suggest -- in the sentence you were reading at the end that Sulaiman suggest -- tight control of the bank's activities suggest he is saying that his bank is attractive to extremists, do you view extremist to mean terrorists there?

A Probably, but I -- again, we would have to go through that report for me to assess that word difference with consideration. I don't recollect in my report getting into the distinctions between Islamists, extremists and terrorists in a definitive way and analyzing U.S. government reports. And so we'd have to go look at the underlying documents and assess them line-by-line.

Q Sir, in your report, you say that Osama bin Laden held accounts at Al-Rajhi Bank, correct?

A I do and I believe that's accurate.

Q And you suggest that or you state that Al-Rajhi Bank was the bank that bin Laden, quote, had personally chosen to open his own account in 1991; is



that correct? 1 2 Α Yes. 3 Did you review the statements of account Q for the bin Laden account that were produced? 4 I reviewed the information that was 5 Α Yes. available to me. 6 7 Okay. And --0 8 Α It wasn't complete to the best of my 9 knowledge. It was partial. It was a few pages of 10 So I don't know what else the bank may or may not have on that. I just don't know. 11 12 If we can turn to tab 20. This should be Q 13 coming up on your screen. Let's see when it's coming 14 up. 15 MR. CARTER: I'm sorry. Are we marking 16 this as JW3? 17 MS. ERB: Yes. We are. 18 (Winer Exhibit JW3 was marked for purposes 19 of identification.) BY MS. ERB: 20 If we could turn to ARB-843 in the lower 21 22 hand corner. And do you have an English -- can you go 23 to PDF page 4? There. Okay. 24 Can you see that, sir? 25 Α Yes.



1	Q Do you recall reviewing this document in
2	connection with the preparation of your expert report?
3	A Not specifically. If it's cited in my
4	report, then I did.
5	Q This is an account statement for Osama bin
6	Laden with the account last four digits 9054?
7	A Right.
8	Q And this account statement covers all
9	activity in the account from 19 January 1998 through
LO	December 2002 which is the relevant period for purposes
L1	of this litigation. Do you see that in the upper left,
L2	the date range?
L3	MR. CARTER: Objection to form.
L4	THE WITNESS: I see the date range. My
L5	understanding is that the relevant period you've just
L6	raised goes to what was allowed for discovery.
L7	Certainly my report is based on events necessarily and
L8	activities that predate the period of discovery.
L9	BY MS. ERB:
20	Q And do you see that this account statement
21	shows no activity during that time period 1998 to 2002?
22	A I wouldn't expect it to. Yes, it shows no
23	activity and I wouldn't expect to it.
24	Q And you see no withdrawals or deposits,
25	correct?



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frozen at some time earlier. The Saudi government had basically shut down his direct ability to move money in his own name is my understanding.

Q And so --

A He was a notorious terrorist at that point.

Absolutely notorious already.

Q So from 1998 to 2002, you are not surprised that there is no activity by Osama bin Laden through his accounts at Al-Rajhi Bank, correct?

A At any bank in the world. At any bank in the world.

Q So if I was to show you the other Osama bin Laden accounts that were held at Al-Rajhi Bank and they similarly reflect zero activity during this period, that would not surprise you?

A No.

Q Then I will spare you a review of each and every one of those documents, but I represent to you that each and every one shows zero activity in his accounts and it sounds like you would agree that that is as it should be?

A It would be astonishing to me if any bank



in the world show transactions with Osama bin Laden in 1 2 this -- in that period. 3 Q Your report also discusses the charities, the IIRO, al-Heramain Muslim World League and WAMY 4 5 charities at some length, correct? 6 The report speaks for itself on that, but, Α 7 yes, they're referenced. 8 And these -- these particular charities are Q 9 headquartered in Saudi Arabia, correct? 10 Α Yes. And they have -- some of them have branches 11 0 outside of Saudi Arabia, correct? 12 13 Α Yes. 14  $\bigcirc$ None of these charities listed, IIRO, 15 al-Heramain Muslim World League and WAMY, were 16 designated by the United States or the United Nations 17 before 9/11, correct? 18 Charities generally were not designated Α 19 prior to 9/11. I would have to think whether I'm aware 20 of any charity anywhere being designated prior to 9/11. I can't recollect any at this time. 21 22 Q When you were preparing your report, did you review account statements produced by the bank for 23 24 certain of these charities?



I did.

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They're referenced in my report.

And do you recall that none of the bank

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statements you reviewed or that the bank produced were for any non-Saudi branches of these charities, correct? That's an incomplete statement and I think is not -- it's more complicated than that unfortunately because the al-Heramain documents which are the ones I looked at at greatest length in particular show that monies being provided to al-Heramain and for al-Heramain for particular accounts with different geographic areas to go to those geographic areas. And so ARB is facilitating activity to -- through those activities outside the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. And the mechanics of that are not visible in the bank documents that I reviewed. My question, sir, is whether you recall 0 seeing any account statement to suggest that any charity branch outside of Saudi Arabia held an account at Al-Rajhi Bank? You can't tell from the documents provided what the char -- which elements of the charities were doing what. Q That's not my question, sir. Let me try the question again.

Do you recall seeing any account statement



Sure.

Α

Q

January 12, 2024

in the name of a charity branch located outside Saudi Arabia?

A No.

Q Are you aware, sir, that none of the branches of the charities that I've listed were designated before 9/11?

A I believe that question was already asked and answered, but I'm happy to answer it again. To the best of my knowledge, there were no charities of any kind that I recollect that had been designated prior to 9/11 because terrorist designations were originally limited to terrorist organizations.

Q So you --

Were originally limited in the time that I was in the Clinton administration at the State

Department were limited to terrorist organizations

primarily. There may have been some other narrow

exceptions, but at that point, the designation process

for terrorist sanctioning was in its infancy. It had

been done first to drug trafficking organizations and

to do it at all for terrorism was late in the Clinton

administration. And I don't believe that any charities

were designated during the time that I was inside the

Clinton administration. I believe it all happened

after 9/11.



1 So it sounds like we can agree and we don't 2 need to review one-by-one that to the extent any 3 branches of IIRO, al-Heramain Muslim World League and WAMY to the extent any of their branches outside of 4 5 Saudi Arabia were designated. They were designated after 9/11, correct? 6 7 MR. CARTER: Objection to form. 8 THE WITNESS: As I've just said, I don't 9 believe there were designations of any charities prior to 9/11. There were other actions undertaken in 10 relationship to charities including discussions with 11 12 other governments including Saudi Arabia, but there 13 were no designations. 14 BY MS. ERB: 15 And your report does not identify any 16 financial transfer from the Saudi headquarters of any 17 charity discussed in the report to Osama bin Laden, 18 correct? 19 Α That's correct. From the bank records? 20 0 Yeah. From the documents you reviewed. here we're -- the documents you reviewed in connection 21 22 with the report, you don't recall seeing a financial 23 transfer from the Saudi headquarters, the customers of 24 Al-Rajhi Bank of any charity at issue to Osama bin Laden, correct? 25



1	A That would be from bank records or bank
2	documents, no, not from the documents produced in
3	discovery relating to the five-year period from
4	January 1998 to the end of 2002.
5	Q And your report does not identify any
6	financial transfer from the Saudi headquarters of any
7	of these charities to any of the 9/11 hijackers; is
8	that correct?
9	A I don't believe that's covered in my
10	report.
11	Q And your report does not identify any
12	financial transfer from the Saudi headquarters of any
13	of the charities at issue to any individual or entity
14	that at the time of the transfer was designated by the
15	United States or the United Nations, correct?
16	A Please repeat the question. I want to make
17	sure that I absorb it.
18	Q Your report does not identify any financial
19	transfer from the Saudi headquarters of any of the
20	charities at issue, so here again, IIRO, al-Heramain,
21	WAMY and the Muslim World League, to any individual or
22	entity that at the time of the financial transaction
23	the financial transfer was designated by the United
24	States or the United Nations?
25	A I think that's correct. I don't recollect



any.

Q And your report does not identify any financial transfer from the Saudi headquarters of any of the charity customers at Al-Rajhi Bank to any charity branch that at the time of the transfer was designated by the United States or the United Nations?

A No, but with a caveat. That's an important caveat. The documents that I reviewed -- and there were thousands of pages that I reviewed. I can't say how many more than thousands, but at least thousands produced in connection with this litigation by ARB generally lack identification of where the funds are going with any specificity, to whom they're going, where they're going.

So the lack of identifying information on transactions pretty much across the board in terms of their purposes, their uses, to whom -- who's receiving them, how a charity like al-Heramain is actually moving funds overseas, you can't tell that from the documents produced by the bank in discovery.

This goes to the KYC issues that I identify in my report which is when -- which is when you don't create evidence that a bank would ordinarily have to create in order to meet its KYC obligations. And there's no detail on a report of a banking transaction.



It becomes impossible to determine what happened with a transaction.

So if one were to show me, for example -- I am answering -- trying to answer your question as best as I can -- a thousand or 10,000 or 50,000 pages that were blank and contained purely 30,000 riyals of transfer, that's all it said, you wouldn't know what happened to those 30,000 riyals because it just said transfer. There were any number of documents that I reviewed that had that kind of limited information where I couldn't tell where the funds were going.

So with that caveat and all of this is in the context of that caveat that I can answer your question, the documents do not show those transfers, but the documents don't show where the transfers are more or less across the board.

Q We'll come to some of the issues you just raised, but just to be clear that your report does not identify any tran -- financial transfer from the headquarter customer -- charity headquarter customers to a designate -- at the time of the transfer a designated branch of the charity? Just that simple yes or no.

A Yes, with -- yes, with the caveat that I just made.



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Q That you just made. And your report doesn't identify any financial transfer from any official of the Saudi headquarters of any of these charities that I've listed to Osama bin Laden, correct?

A That would be with a huge additional caveat which is that someone like Aqeel Al-Aqeel, there are findings about what he was actually doing on behalf of Al-Qaeda. And of course the Saudi government itself states that al-Heramain was notoriously involved with Al-Qaeda and bin Laden. To state that the Saudi government had a notorious -- notorious involvement as

That's not reflected in the records that I saw in terms of what Aquel Al-Aquel was doing because the bank records are largely blank. They show very little about what Aquel Al-Aquel is doing with all the funds that he's moving through ARB.

articulated by the Saudi government was based on all

the evidence that they had, the Saudi government, about

Q Do you know when Aqeel Al-Aqeel was designated?

A Yes. It was after 9/11.

what al-Heramain was actually doing.

Q I believe in 2004. And do you know when the Saudi headquarters of al-Heramain was designated?

A 2006 or '8. I can't remember.



1	Q It was 2008. Your report does not identify
2	any financial transfer from any official of the Saudi
3	headquarters of any of the charities at issue to any of
4	the 9/11 hijackers, correct?
5	A Please repeat the question.
6	Q Your report does not identify any financial
7	transfer from any official of the Saudi headquarters of
8	any of the charities we were discussing to any of the
9	9/11 hijackers, correct?
10	A Correct.
11	Q And your report does not identify any
12	financial transfer from any official of the Saudi
13	headquarters of any of the charities at issue to any
14	individual or entity that at the time of the transfer
15	was designated by the United States or the United
16	Nations?
17	A With the caveat that a massive number of
18	the transactions that I reviewed did not contain
19	sufficient identifying information to determine where
20	the funds were being sent period.
21	Q But you saw nothing to suggest that they
22	were going to a person that was designated at the time
23	of the transfer?
24	A If the information wasn't recorded, I
25	didn't see it.



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And you -- your report does not identify any financial transfer from any official of the Saudi headquarters of any of the charities at issue to any charity branch that at the time of the transfer was designated as a supporter of terrorism, correct? Yes, with the same caveat. Α 0 Sir, in your report, you do not identify any evidence that the non-Saudi branches of the charities at issue were reporting or exchanging information of any improper activity to the Saudi headquarters, correct? That information is not covered in the Α questions that were asked to me for this report. Do you dispute --I would like to add to that. I was not --Α I believe that I was not provided documents that addressed that issue. Do you dispute, sir, that the charities and here I'm referring to the entire organization of these charities, the headquarters and branches included and referring to all of the charities that we've listed, do you dispute that these charities were conducting



legitimate humanitarian work?

January 12, 2024

1 happy to go into that further if you would like. 2 And are you aware that when the United 3 States designated the Somali and Bosnia branches of 4 al-Heramain in 2002, treasury secretary Paul O'Neill 5 made clear that the Saudi headquarters of al-Heramain 6 was still conducting legitimate humanitarian work and 7 that it was the activities of the branches that had 8 engaged in -- the branches that had engaged in support 9 of terrorist activities? 10 MR. CARTER: Objection to form, misstates 11 the statement. 12 THE WITNESS: What I was about to say and 13 will now say is I think it's preferable to look at the 14 document as to what it actually says to be able to 15 address the full context of that joint designation 16 decision that was made at that time of the two branches. I would emphasize that it was a joint 17 18 designation and that's an important part of the context 19 of that document. BY MS. ERB: 20 So let's -- if the technician could turn to 21 0 tab 6 and if we can enter this as -- this is tab 6. 22 (Winer Exhibit JW4 was marked for purposes 23 24 of identification.) 25 BY MS. ERB:



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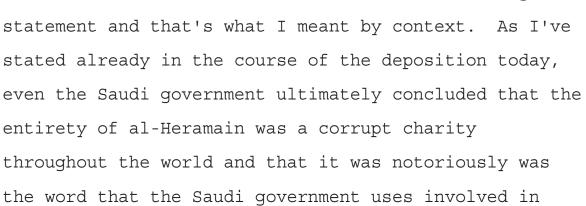
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1 Sir, if you can turn to the sentence 2 beginning with while. It's the second sentence I 3 believe in the first paragraph. While the Saudi headquarters for this private charitable entity is 4 5 dedicated to promoting Islamic teachings, we and our Saudi Arabian allies have determined that the Somalia 7 and Bosnia branches of al-Heramain have been engaged in 8 supporting terrorist activities and terrorist 9 organizations such as Al-Qaeda. Do you see that? 10 Α Yes. So from that statement, would you agree 11 0 that the United States was designating only the 13 overseas non-Saudi branches to branches of al-Heramain? 14 Α That's a legal fact. 15 And would you agree that Secretary O'Neill 0 recognizes in his statement that the Saudi headquarters 17 of the charitable entity was dedicated to promoting 18 Islamic teachings? 19 He states that in the course of a longer 20 statement and that's what I meant by context. As I've 21





January 12, 2024

providing support to Al-Qaeda and to bin Laden.

The United States began raising the issue of al-Heramain with the Saudi government in the 1990s and did not make progress on that. What was really important about this event and I remember paying enormous attention to it at that time March 11, 2002, is that the United States had been trying to nudge the Saudi government along into beginning to take action in what was a huge current national security threat for the United States, a huge current threat, not just a past threat, but a current threat and potentially a future threat.

And so it began this process of designation with the Saudis on board. And since the Saudis had been resisting and resisting and resisting and resistance continued in a number of areas until the Riyadh bombings of May 2003, this was a huge achievement to get the Saudis on. So I see this as a continued recognition that in addition to whatever else they were doing, these charities were engaged in humanitarian activities.

And back when I was at the State Department in the 1990s, one of the difficulties we discussed in addressing the whole Saudi issue is that the charities had intermingled particularly in conflict zones. The



provision of humanitarian support with the provision of
support for violent Jihad, political Islam that was
directed initially at conflicts between Muslims and
Christians or Muslims and Jewish government in the case
of Israel and then had been moving towards western
targets as evidenced in Mogadishu in 2001, as evidenced
in embassy bombings in 2008, the original World Trade
Center bombing in I said 2001. I should have said
1991. That's an error. Please correct it. The '91
'90 Jacob plot in '96, the terrorist bombings in '98.
So this is this ongoing terrorist threat in
which the charities were seen to be a significant part
of the problem because in addition to doing
humanitarian activity, they were doing the
nonhumanitarian activity in support of violent Jihad,
militant Jihad combat or conflict Jihad and then
terrorism.
So the important context here that's
critical is this is the United States government and
the Saudi government moving together in the same path
to begin to counter the threat and that's the
importance of the context of that statement.
Q And in that joint action in March 2002,
only the overseas non-Saudi branches of al-Heramain

were designated and the Saudi headquarters was not



1 designated; is that correct? 2 Α That's correct. 3 Q And your report does not identify any instances of any of the non-Saudi we'll call them 4 overseas branch offices of the Saudi headquarters 5 requesting assistance from the headquarters for 6 7 terrorist or other nefarious purposes, correct? 8 MR. CARTER: Objection to form. 9 THE WITNESS: I did not review documents 10 between the branches and the headquarters of any of the Dawah organizations in connection with my -- with this 11 12 expert report that I recollect. I don't think there 13 were any provided to me. 14 BY MS. ERB: 15 If we can turn, sir -- and at any point 16 that you want to take a break, you'll let us know. Ιf we can turn, sir, to section 7.15.1 of your report. 17 18 And this is on page 99. In 7.15.1, you are referencing 19 the so-called Golden Chain list, correct? 20 Α Yes. And you characterize the Golden Chain as a 21 0 22 group of, quote, wealthy individuals from the gulf 23 region who provided bin Laden and Al-Qaeda with money 24 on a regular basis, correct?

MR. CARTER: Objection to form.



January 12, 2024

1 THE WITNESS: Can you show me what you're 2 reading from, please, which sentence? 3 BY MS. ERB: It is the sentence where you're quoting the 4 source saying the Golden Chain consisted -- it's the 5 second sentence of 7.15.1. According to the source, 6 7 the Golden Chain consisted of wealthy individuals. Do 8 you see that? 9 Yeah. I think this comes from the report rather than my words. 10 Okay. And do you know when the Golden 11 0 Chain document was written? 12 13 Α I don't. 14 Do you know --Q 15 Not offhand. I don't remember. Α 16 You don't remember? Q 17 Α No. 18 Do you know who wrote it? 0 19 Α No, I don't know who wrote it. 20 0 Do you know the purpose for which the Golden Chain document was written? 21 One would have to make assumptions about 22 Α It was found in connection with a raid of a 23 24 group of people associated with Al-Qaeda. And so it's 25 an underlying document. So because it came from a raid



on that facility, it essentially has been treated as an 1 2 Al-Qaeda document and a characterization of who 3 Al-Qaeda was raising money from. Do you consider the Golden Chain to be a 4 5 reliable data point? 6 I don't -- generally speaking, I look at Α 7 data points in connection with other activity. It's a 8 data point. I wouldn't call it reliable or unreliable. 9 It's a data point. What makes the data point useful 10 and gives it some credence is the manner of its discovery and the information on it is pretty specific 11 12 about Al-Oaeda funders. I know there have been 13 different interpretations of the document. 14 Do you know whether the document identifies 15 that it is, in fact, a list of Al-Qaeda funders? Does 16 it say that anywhere? We can go to the document. It would be 17 Α 18 best to go to the document itself to talk through what 19 it says. 20 Okay. We may come back to that. According 21 to the source in your -- in your statement in the CIA -- excuse me. In your expert report, you say 22 according to the source, the Golden Chain consisted of 23 24 wealthy individuals who provided bin Laden and Al-Qaeda 25 with money on a regular basis.



1 That's right. Α 2 Q And you don't -- you don't recall ever corroborating that fact, do you? 3 The CIA describes various people as the 4 major donors for Al-Qaeda and they include in a number 5 6 of reports members of the Al-Rajhi family and sometimes 7 they include Sulaiman AA -- A Al-Rajhi as -- in 8 particular as a donor to bin Laden earlier of the 9 Afghan moves early and to Al-Qaeda. So that is for me 10 corroborating information because it means that they took the totality on the data points they had seriously 11 12 and reached those conclusions and reached them with 13 greater certainty over time. 14 So do you consider the Golden Chain list to 15 be a credible or useful document? 16 It's a data point in the context of all the Α other data points. Beyond that, one would have to go 17 18 back and do a very detailed study of it, read the 19 document, interview people and so on. What I'm relying 20 on here is the totality of the information that -- in front of me that I was able to review which included 21 22 the summary from al-Fadha listing Al-Rajhi.

al-Fadha said what he was. He said it to the FBI.

That's not something I came up with. That's a fact and



he said this.

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January 12, 2024 73

1 I want to switch gears. 0 Okay. So do you 2 want to keep going or do you need a break? 3 Α We need a break apparently. Sorry. Apologies. 4 MS. ERB: THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off the record at 11:16. 5 6 (Deposition recessed at 11:16 a.m.) 7 (Deposition resumed at 11:29 a.m.) 8 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Back on the record at 9 11:29. BY MS. ERB: 10 Mr. Winer, if I could direct your 11 0 12 attention, please, to section 7.17 of your report which 13 begins on page 100 and we'll be looking at 7.17 through 14 about 7.24. 15 In this section of your report, you discuss 16 Omar al-Bayoumi and Fahad al-Thumairy and their alleged 17 activities in the United States before 9/11. Do you 18 see this discussion? 19 Α Yes. 20 0 And in section 7.17, you characterize al-Bayoumi as, quote, an individual who assisted two 21 22 terrorists hijackers in the United States ahead of 23 their participation in the 9/11 attacks, correct? 24 Α Correct. 25 Q And in the same section, you rely on



January 12, 2024

documents that describe al-Bayoumi's purported role and 1 2 relationship to the 9/11 attacks. Do you see that 3 statement? It's in the second sentence. 4 Α Yes. 5 0 And you -- and you refer to the 9/11 commission report and the FBI inspector general, 6 7 correct? 8 Α Is there a question? 9 0 Just asking you to confirm that you 10 see those sources referred. 11 Α Yes. And in 7.18, you refer to a memo written by 12 0 13 the staff of the 9/11 commission in 2003 and released 14 in 2014 as a source for your discussion of al-Bayoumi, 15 correct --16 Α Yes. -- and its possible involvement in the 9/11 17 0 18 And in that same section, you state that attacks? 19 while the 9/11 commission did not find evidence 20 providing al-Bayoumi to be a Saudi intelligence asset, 21 the FBI did find evidence allegedly it says proving 22 al-Bayoumi to be a Saudi intelligence asset at the time 23 he was providing assistance to two of the 9/11 24 hijackers. Do you see this? 25 Α Yes.



January 12, 2024

1	Q And in the same section, you state that a
2	June 27th excuse me June 2017 FBI document
3	described Fahad al-Thumairy as quote another individual
4	identified within the support network of the 9/11
5	hijackers, correct?
6	A Yes.
7	Q And in this series of paragraphs and
8	discussion, the latest FBI report that you appear to
9	rely on in your report with respect to al-Bayoumi and
10	Thumairy is from 2017; is that right?
11	A I don't see a later reference offhand. If
12	there is one, I'm sure you can point it out. If there
13	isn't, there isn't.
14	Q Do you recall relying on any FBI report
15	after the 2017 report that you cite?
16	A Well, I'm aware that I'm aware that
17	there's another report of some kind which they
18	basically give up the government in the investigation
19	of al-Bayoumi.
20	Q Did you cite that later report in your
21	expert report?
22	A No.
23	Q Let's let's turn to that report.
24	A Sure.
25	Q It's at tab 53 which we should mark as



January 12, 2024 76

1 Exhibit 5. 2 (Winer Exhibit JW5 was marked for purposes 3 of identification.) BY MS. ERB: 4 5 Did you consult this later report in 0 6 preparing your expert report? 7 Α I'm aware of it. 8 Do you recall reviewing it when you were 0 9 preparing your report? 10 I don't recall one way or the other at this 11 the point. It would be best to look at the report 12 itself. 13 I think they're pulling it up. So report Q 14 is now on the screen. I would like to direct your 15 attention to page 10 of the report which is also marked E014040 number 10. And I'm looking at the last 16 17 paragraph on that page 10 beginning after the redacted 18 block based on the totality. Do you see that 19 paragraph, sir? 20 I see a paragraph that begins material 21 support to terrorism. Is that what you want me to be 22 looking at? 23 So if you go under -- so the last paragraph 24 on the page in that section begins with based on the 25 totality.



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A Based on the totality of these investigative efforts in coordination with the assistant U.S. attorneys of the Southern District of New York, it was jointly determined that insufficient evidence existed to prosecute al-Bayoumi and al-Jarrah for conspiring to assist the hijackers in furtherance of the 9/11 attack, right.

Q And do you recall reviewing this part of this 2001 FBI report in preparing your expert report?

A As I said to you, I don't recollect one way or the other. I'm not sure.

Q Okay. I don't believe we saw this report listed in your materials relied on.

A If it's not listed, then I didn't rely on it.

Q Okay. And do you think that this report and this data point from this report is relevant to the prior data points in the intelligence leading up to this 2021 report?

A No.

Q Can you explain that?

A Sure. The data points that I cite are all particular data points and there's nothing in here that addresses the question whether al-Bayoumi is working as an intelligence asset for the Saudi government which is



the -- one of the main points made here or that he provided assistance to the 9/11 hijackers.

What it says is insufficient -insufficient existed to prosecute these people for
wittingly conspiring to assist them in furtherance of
the attack. That's a judgment made by the FBI and U.S.
attorneys in connection with a criminal case which has
a particular standard of proof which is different from
civil cases.

I can't tell you what's in the back of their decision because the information of what caused them ultimately to make the decision is not available to me, statute of limitations, evidentiary issues, witness issues, ability to extradite out of Saudi Arabia key people.

My understanding, for example, of Thumairy, I believe it's Thumairy, he couldn't get back to the United States because of terrorist concerns. He was prevented from reentering the United States. And I believed Bayoumi ultimately left the west and moved back to Saudi Arabia and went underground.

So all of those would be considerations. I know that in cases in which -- involving very, very significant crimes that the U.S. government has investigated, they can't always bring criminal cases



1	against everybody involved in significant crimes. I
2	know that firsthand. And not just in private sector
3	side, but from the government side. So it's comparing
4	apples to oranges for me.
5	Q Are you aware that any of the individuals,
6	Bayoumi, Thumairy, are you aware that they've never
7	been designated by the United States?
8	A Yes. So?
9	Q And do you consider that the decision by
10	the FBI and United States not to prosecute these
11	individuals, do you think that that's not relevant for
12	the Court here as even as a footnote in your report?
13	MR. CARTER: Objection.
14	THE WITNESS: I really can't assess that.
15	There are lots of things about al-Bayoumi and about
16	Thumairy and about al-Jarrah who I don't recollect
17	writing about in my report. If I did, it was in
18	passing, but I just don't he's in passing. He's in
19	passing. He is
20	BY MS. ERB:
21	Q You do reference
22	A I do reference him. I had forgotten.
23	There's a whole section 7.1. He's the Islamic affairs
24	guy. Now I placed him. He's the person who was

working -- running various people on behalf of Ministry



1 of Islamic Affairs out of the embassy which is a unit 2 that was then shut down completely because of its -- in 3 my -- it appears to me because of its unsound 4 connections and activities in any case. 5 It was a 220-page report. It wasn't a 400-page report. And surely there's lots more that I 6 7 could say on all of these topics if one wanted to 8 instead of write a hundred thousand words, if one put 9 in 200,000 words. 10 So there's inevitably a selection process. There's also time constraints. So I could have added 11 12 in what I've just told you now and I'm sure you can 13 alert the Court to what I just said. It's here in the 14 deposition. So we've been able to cover it, I think. 15 So just to be clear, the report in 2021 0 16 determined that there was insufficient evidence and --17 Α To prosecute at that time. 18 Prosecute at that time --0 19 Α Yes. 20 -- in 2021? And you did not cite even in a 0 21 footnote this report for the benefit of the Court, 22 correct? 23 Objection to form. I think it MR. CARTER: 24 misstates the report.

THE WITNESS: There are probably a thousand



1	facts. I don't know how many facts that I didn't cite
2	that I could have added to this report. The question
3	of what's happened in particular criminal cases and
4	it's relevance to a civil case was not a question that
5	I was asked. I responded to the questions that I was
6	asked.
7	BY MS. ERB:
8	Q If we can turn to 7.24 of your report and
9	this is on page 104.
LO	MR. CARTER: I'm sorry. Nicole, where were
L1	you?
L2	MS. ERB: I'm sorry. It's paragraph 7.24
L3	on page 104.
L4	BY MS. ERB:
L5	Q And this paragraph, sir, concerns an
L6	individual by the name of Towayan al-Towayan who
L7	according to your report was linked to Mr. al-Bayoumi
L8	who we just discussed.
L9	A Right.
20	Q And you're relying on an FBI document dated
21	September 27th, 2001?
22	A Right.
23	Q And you say that this document describes
24	certain connections allegedly between Mr. Towayan and
25	Mr. al-Bayoumi, correct?



1 Α Yes. 2 Q Your report also states that al-Towayan was 3 employed by Al-Rajhi Bank; is that correct? This is still within 7.24. 4 I don't state that. I quote a document 5 6 that states that. 7 That's fine. And are you aware that Fair. 0 8 Al-Rajhi Bank produced an HR file in connection with 9 Mr. Towayan in this litigation? 10 Α No. Do you recall reviewing any HR file 11 0 12 relating to Mr. Towayan in connection with this 13 litigation? 14 I don't. I may have, but I don't recollect 15 I would note that on the pages that you're showing 16 me, more black marks or redacted material which is odd 17 since in my report, there are no such redactions. Ι 18 don't know what to make of these redactions on page 19 103, page 104 and maybe some elsewhere, but I'm saying 20 no and I really can't address that. 21 Sir, these redactions relate to FBI 0 22 protected information and we are working -- because we 23 are in the setting that we are in, we are not referring 24 to the elements of the report that include material

subject to an FBI protective order. If needed at a



certain point, we can, you know, exit the room and have 1 2 people -- you can review this, but I'd like to continue with my questions and then if you feel the need that we 3 need to go back --4 5 Because it's right above the material you just asked me and there's a footnote below it that's 6 7 redacted as well. So I can't address that. 8 So what I -- if we can, I'd like to 0 9 continue with my questioning. 10 Α Sure. And we can come back and we can determine 11 0 12 whether we want to do that. So in your reviewed 13 materials, it appears that the document I'm referring 14 to that was produced by Al-Rajhi Bank was included in a 15 So it does appear that you at least reviewed it 16 in some form, but I suggest that we pull it up on the 17 screen --18 Α Sure. 19 -- so that we can look at it. And this is tab 93 which is now JW6. 20 21 (Winer Exhibit JW6 was marked for purposes 22 of identification.) 23 And this is 403 -- ARB-40369 if MS. ERB: 24 that helps the technician.

BAILY: Counsel, say that one more time,



January 12, 2024

1 please. 2 MS. ERB: This is tab 93. 3 BAILY: Okay. MS. ERB: And the page is the second --4 5 probably the second page of the PDF is the English 6 translation of ARB-40369 as the Bates number. 7 I'm sorry, counsel. Can I have the BAILY: 8 Bates number one more time? I think the one I have is 9 slightly different. 10 MS. ERB: So it is ARB-00040369. This 11 is --12 BAILY: The note I have as 1093 is at 13 ARB-00000836 and ends on 840. 14 MS. ERB: Give us one moment. 15 (A discussion was held off the record.) 16 BY MS. ERB: Mr. Winer, as a courtesy, I'm providing you 17 Q 18 a hard copy --19 Α Thank you. 20 Q -- for your review. 21 BAILY: I see. There was two -- two 22 different tab 93s. 23 BY MS. ERB: 24 Okay. It's now on the screen as well, Mr. 0 25 Winer, if that's easier. Do you recall seeing this



January 12, 2024

1 document? 2 Α Yes, I do. 3 Q In your report, sir, in 7.24 --4 Α Right. 5 0 -- you are quoting the FBI document as 6 stating that al-Towayan was employed by Al-Rajhi, an 7 investment firm located in Saudi Arabia working in its 8 compliance section and that ARB was paying his costs 9 while he was in the United States to study English at 10 the request of Al-Rajhi Finance Company. 11 Do you see that language in 7.24? 12 Α Yes. 13 Looking at the document that is on the 14 screen, do you see that in the second line, the author 15 of the document which is the director of the Sharia 16 oversight office, he says I would like to convey the 17 application of the lead overseer of the Sharia 18 oversight branch, Mr. Towayan, bin Abdullah Towayan in 19 whom -- in which he requests a study leave in order to study English for six months. Do you see that 20 21 language? 22 Α Yes. 23 So this document is saying that it was 24 Mr. Towayan's request to take study leave, correct? 25 Α Right.



1 Do you also see a handwritten note in the 0 2 English translation, it's in bold in the lower right of 3 the translation, beginning no objection? 4 Α Yes. 5 0 And in this handwritten note, it says no 6 objection provided that all expenses including travel 7 accommodation, board and studies are at his own 8 expense. The company shall not bear any of said 9 expenses. 10 Do you see that? 11 Α Yes. 12 So based on this document, the statement 0 13 that Al-Rajhi Bank -- the statement in the FBI report 14 that you quote that Al-Rajhi Bank was paying his costs 15 while he was in the United States to study is 16 inaccurate, correct? 17 Objection. MR. CARTER: 18 THE WITNESS: It might be. It might not 19 be. 20 BY MS. ERB: Based on this document, it does not appear 21 0 22 that the bank had approved the study leave and agreed 23 to pay Mr. Towayan's cost while he was studying 24 English?

That's what this document says. The FBI



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document says something different. One would want to look at his payments and the record of his payments to know more. And do you -- have you seen anything in the record to suggest that Al-Rajhi Bank was making payments apart from this FBI data point? Α No. Do you agree that according to this letter, 0 the bank said that it shall not pay -- bear any of said expenses, correct? Α It seems -- it all seems very odd to It's hard to understand what's going on. Well, I think for our purposes, he made a Q The request was conveyed. He made the request to study English. The request was conveyed. The request was not objected to for leave so long as he covered his own expenses. Do you agree with that interpretation of what's on the page? MR. CARTER: Objection. THE WITNESS: (Reviewing document.) Here's the problem. Yes, that summarizes what's on the page, but there's a problem here. the problem is is that we now know that Bayoumi was a

Saudi intelligence asset. He was working for the Saudi

government and he's working with Towayan in part.



.....

you would have to be able to decode what was actually happening.

You'd want to be looking in order to be able to ultimately assess the implications of all of this in detail -- this is one of many, many, many data points in my report of course, not the only one -- what was really going on which requires an awful lot of investigation. We could go back to all the information in the FBI report which I've just excerpted one section and try to evaluate it overall.

But I can't tell you from this piece of paper whether Al-Rajhi was or wasn't providing him support in this period. I know he had bank accounts with ARB. So it's difficult to evaluate. Your interpretation is a plausible interpretation based on what's written on this page. It may be a correct interpretation based on this page, but you would then want to look at other documents to make an ultimate assessment about his relationship to Al-Rajhi during the period of time he was in the United States.

Q Mr. Winer, if we can now switch gears again and turn to page 38 section 4.10.9 of your report and this is on page 38.

A Um-hmm. Yes.

Q And this is a paragraph of your report in



1 which you state that Julaidan and your -- was one of 2 bin Laden and Al-Qaeda's principal terrorist 3 financiers. 4 Do you see that sentence? 5 Α Yes. 6 It's about three -- halfway down the 0 7 paragraph. And you also state that -- at the last 8 sentence that Julaidan himself had accounts at Al-Rajhi 9 Bank. Yes. 10 Α 11 0 Do you know when Mr. Julaidan was 12 designated? 13 Α After 9/11. 14 September 6th, 2002. And do you -- if you 0 15 look at tab 68 which if we can mark as an exhibit. 16 (Winer Exhibit JW7 was marked for purposes of identification.) 17 18 BY MS. ERB: 19 And this is ARB-39558, and you'll want to 20 go to the second page of the PDF. And if we can scroll 21 down to the English translation which looks like it's the fourth page of the PDF, yeah. So this is a 22 23 document produced by Al-Rajhi Bank. 24 Did you review this document, do you 25 recall?



A Yes. This relates to the response to SAMA -- SAMA's listing requirements when they were made which was in response to UN designations. And monitoring was undertaken when SAMA reached out to the banks and asked them to the address the kinds of people who had been sanctioned by the UN. That's my memory of it.

Q And if you look on the chart, if you go down, you'll see -- one, two, three, four, five, six rows down, you'll see a reference to Mr. Julaidan. And then if you scroll to the status column at the far right, you'll see that the status is listed as blocked.

A Sure.

Q And if you go down further to number 56 in the rows, but it's actually more like the 13th line down, again, you'll see his name and you see the status of his account as well.

A I actually can't read anything on this because it's too small. So if I'm supposed to review something, it would need to be made bigger. Thank you.

Q I feel your pain, Mr. Winer.

A Let us continue and you'll feel it more.

Q So in your report, you mention -- well, let me just confirm. You see that in the row listed 56 all the way to the right, it's also -- the word blocked is



included there, correct?

A I can't quite see it because it's -- the way this is set up on my screen, but I see the first letters B-L-O-C-K and I accept your representation that the word is blocked.

Q Very good. Very good. So in your -- in your report, you mention that Julaidan had accounts at Al-Rajhi Bank, but your report does not mention that on request by its regulator after the designation of Mr. Julaidan when the regulator asked for statements of details of the accounts that Al-Rajhi Bank responded and showed that these accounts were blocked.

A Which section? We're in section 4 of the report?

O So --

A So section 4 of the report is in response to the question is there evidence that Al-Qaeda relied on sympathetic financiers. It might be -- hold on a second. Let's just see what the topic is because it goes to the question that I was asked.

So the question here is were there incidents in which purported charities were implicated in money laundering for criminal activities including the financing of terrorism and/or specific attacks before September 11th, 2001. The question was not



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whether banks were blocking accounts as required by UN sanctions and required by their country and their regulator after September 11th, 2001. So that's the question that this relates to in this section.

And would you agree in your review of this document that this document appears to reflect what you just described which is that Al-Rajhi Bank blocked the account of Julaidan after he was designated after 9/11?

Α Yes.

0 And provided that information on his bank account being blocked to its regulator, SAMA?

Α I'd like to address this slightly Yes. longer in order to describe the issue more broadly. The documents that I reviewed showed Al-Rajhi Bank along with other banks in Saudi Arabia being called together and having a committee formed and having regular communications with SAMA following 9/11 in which they blocked accounts as their regulator told them to do on the basis of UN lists. And that's consistent with U.S. government reporting which showed that Saudi Arabia was undertaking efforts in response to UN lists in that period.

Q Thank you.

I'd like to turn if we can to discuss the FATF recommendations that you raise in your report.



1 You specifically cite at section 5, I believe. Let me 2 just confirm. On page 42 of your report and this is in 3 response to question 3 and we're going to be looking -it's really pages 42 probably through to 48 of your 4 5 report where the FATF 40 recommendations come up. You specifically cite the 96 FATF 40 recommendations in 6 7 your report? 8 Α Yes. 9 And you reference the -- in these pages, 10 you cite a number of different recommendations, obviously not all 40, but the ones that pertain to 11 financial institutions. 12 13 Α Yes. And are you familiar with the FATF 14 15 introduction which we can pull up if it would be --16 I haven't memorized it, so it would be best Α 17 to pull it up. 18 So this is tab 35. It will be Okav. 0 19 Exhibit JW8. 20 (Winer Exhibit JW8 was marked for purposes of identification.) 21 22 BY MS. ERB: 23 And if we could go to I believe it's page 2 24 of the PDF. 25 Α I'm going to need to have that magnified,



January 12, 2024

1 please. 2 Q And I'm focused on the fifth paragraph 3 down. 4 Α Yes. 5 0 And --6 A I'm familiar with that. 7 0 And there's a -- the second sentence 8 says the recommendations referring to the FATF 9 recommendations are therefore the principles for action in this field for countries to implement according to 10 their particular circumstances and constitutional 11 12 frameworks allowing countries a measure of flexibility 13 rather than prescribing every detail. Do you see that? 14 15 Α Yes. 16 And so it was your understanding that the FATF recommendations were designed as recommendations 17 18 for implementation at the state level? 19 Α Yes, of course. And these were not obligations on private 20 21 market actors, banks, et cetera? Rather they were 22 recommendations that states would implement in their 23 laws? 24 Objection to form. MR. CARTER: 25 THE WITNESS: That's not how I would



January 12, 2024

characterize it precisely. It's accurate that states were to implement the 40 recommendations. That's accurate. There's also the group of bank supervisors which was operating at the same time to create standards for financial institutions directly which in turn essentially referenced the FATF recommendations and established them as minimum standards for the bank supervisors who were their direct members to impose on the banks that they regulated.

There was a very complicated process going on in that period of the late 1990s of establishing consolidated supervision for banks. This was initiated in substantial part in response to the collapse of BCCI, a bank that I spent years investigating as a senate investigator in the late 1980s and late 19 -- early 1990s before I went to the State Department.

So because of the need to have consolidated supervision and integration of banks' standards and practices around the world while it was up to the national level to have supervisors supervise their banks nationally, it was part of the international system to protect banks internationally because of the corresponding banking system.

And so you have to understand the FATF recommendations as being cheek by jowl with the Basel



Committee recommendation which were going into place at the same time for bank supervisors because bank supervisors also had obligations really to one another as a kind of college of supervisors in order to prevent systemic risk. Systemic risk is created when any country's financial regulatory systems is inadequate in relationship to other countries.

And I could go on in this. I don't want to exceed the scope of your question too broadly, but I'm trying to put an appropriate context on the question.

So, yes, but it's within this broader framework and there's one more point from the text here going back to the text. Somewhere it says these are intended to be universal application and I think that's on this page. Give me a moment. Here it is.

It's paragraph 4. These 40 recommendations set up the basic framework for anti-money laundering efforts and they're designed to be of universal application. And the reason again is because of the problem of systemic risk for the banking system as well as the fact that international criminal activity, cross border financial activity migrated to jurisdictions and inadequately put protections in place.

And my work on a day-to-day basis at the State Department literally day-to-day in the late 1990s



1 was among other things trying to get countries to 2 actually put the standards in place in a coherent and 3 comprehensive fashion. BY MS. ERB: 4 5 0 And just coming back to my question which is just that the FATF recommendations were designed and 6 7 are intended to be adopted at a state level? These are 8 state recom -- recommendations for states? 9 Yes, but the state level may be country 10 based in terms of the governments or it may -- it's also regulator based. So in some countries, regulator 11 12 status is somewhat independent of the government. It's 13 not part of the executive branch. Like the Federal 14 Reserve is not told what to do by a president, 15 It's a separate independent. whomever. It's these 16 complementary systems being designed at the same time in an integrated fashion. 17 18 And when states implement the FATF 19 recommendations whether, you know, through the bank 20 supervisors you call it or regulator or otherwise, they 21 don't necessarily implement all 40 recommendations, 22 correct? 23 They don't implement all 40 recommendations 24 necessarily in exactly the same way. There was a --

there was a system of mutual assessment that was put



into place from the creation of the FATF as well which included the development of regional bodies as well as the global body because countries would be found to be deficient in their implementation of various recommendations by their peers and be asked to -- to put further measures in place in order to ensure that there were not weak links in the chain because banking is like water.

If you have part of your water system, one pipe that has got arsenic or lead in it like in Flint, Michigan and there's lead in one area, that water can flow to all kinds of other areas. So it's incredibly important that banking regulation and enforcement not involve regulatory arbitrage or enforcement arbitrage because that then creates dirty nodes which can infect well beyond the original location. So you have to have the barriers in place locally.

So the financial system is like the water system. You have to be able to have it addressed throughout because the pipes are all connected to one another in corresponding banking.

Q But you would agree that if you were to review states that have adopted the FATF recommendation that not all states are compliant with all 40 recommendations, correct?



1 It's a -- there's a process for coming into 2 compliance, that's right. And I was working on that 3 process at the State Department in the late 1990s 4 country by country. 5 Do you know if the United States is 6 compliant with the FATF 40 recommendations? 7 At any particular moment, it's -- you would Α 8 always be trying to improve, but generally speaking, 9 yes. 10 MS. ERB: So if we can pull up tab 72 which we'll mark as an exhibit. 11 12 (Winer Exhibit JW9 was marked for purposes 13 of identification.) 14 MS. ERB: Excuse me. I misspoke. Tab 73, 15 Exhibit JW9. 16 BY MS. ERB: 17 So this is a web page --Q 18 Α Sure. 19 -- from the FATF website and this is the 20 United States web page. 21 Α Sure. And if we flip to the second page of the 22 23 PDF and if we can look at the second paragraph. The 24 United States is compliant on nine of the 40 25 recommendations and largely compliant on 22 of them.



Let's take a look at the further 1 2 description of it, please. I can't evaluate that without looking at it. 3 Okay. But just -- just -- I'm not asking 4 5 you to evaluate it. I'm just asking you whether you 6 agree that here the FATF is reporting that the United 7 States is compliant on nine of the 40 recommendations, 8 largely compliant on 22 and partially compliant on five 9 and not compliant on four. Is that what this says? 10 MR. CARTER: Objection. BY MS. ERB: 11 12 I'm not asking you to evaluate. I'm just Q 13 asking you to tell me if that's what this says. 14 I have not reviewed this particular 15 document or this particular assessment before. And so 16 what's the date, please? So this was pulled from the website and it 17 18 should be current. This was -- this is not -- we're 19 not looking at a -- going back in time when it was first -- it says, though, United States was a member 20 since 1990. 21 22 Α Yes. I would --23 So if you look -- if you go to page 3. Q 24 I'm willing to stipulate that the document Α

says whatever the document says, but it's not a



1 document that I reviewed in connection with my report. 2 O That's fine. 3 Α And it doesn't respond to any question that I was asked in my report. 4 5 0 That's fine too. If we can go to page 3 of 6 the PDF. It looks like this was from 2020 and it was 7 the mutual evaluation of the United States. 8 Α I know what this is about. This is about 9 beneficial ownership. That's what this is about. 10 So all 40 recommendations are about --0 I'd have to read it, but 11 Α I don't know. 12 it's about beneficial ownership which I've been unhappy 13 about for years. 14 So if we go back to page 2, please. 15 Α Didn't there used to be beneficial 16 ownership requirements covering trusts and covering 17 LLCs? And the United States has had a vigorous 18 domestic lobby of people who want to be able to hide 19 their money, the ultimate ownership of companies which 20 has impeded the United States moving ahead in this 21 particular area and that may be what this is about, but 22 I've never seen this document before. 23 Q Okay. 24 Α So I don't know. 25 O Okay. But going back to the intro page



January 12, 2024 102

1	where it talks just the stats of the 40
2	recommendations that you know, the FATF 40, right,
3	and this is where the U.S. is in its compliance with
4	those 40 recommendations. Would you agree that that's
5	what this document is stating?
6	MR. CARTER: Objection. He's told you
7	three times he needs to read the document to understand
8	what that statement is referring to.
9	THE WITNESS: I've just seen for the
10	first forgive me, but I've just seen for the first
11	time on this next page because, again, I've never read
12	this document, never seen the document before, never
13	been asked to look at it. I don't know what's in it.
14	I see this on the FATF website. It's almost certainly
15	the result of the mutual assessment because I know the
16	FATF processes.
17	I would like to read the particular
18	criticisms and evaluate the particular criticisms. I
19	could tell you what it means. I could also evaluate it
20	against other countries. I haven't done that, but I
21	haven't done any of that work. So I can't really
22	address it.
23	BY MS. ERB:
24	Q Okay. And I'm not asking for your
25	evaluation. I'm just asking whether you agree that



January 12, 2024 103

1	when FATF says that the United States is compliant on
2	nine of the 40 that these are the 40 FATF
3	recommendations that you refer to in your report?
4	A No. They are not the 40 FATF
5	recommendations I refer to in the report. That's a
6	mistake.
7	Q Because they've been updated?
8	A They've been changed multiple times.
9	Q Okay. Okay.
10	A I'm referring to my report refers to the
11	1996 ones. That's what I was asked to look at. I
12	wasn't asked to look at the special recommendations on
13	terrorist finance from 2001.
14	Q Right. And we're going to come to that.
15	A Let alone let alone any of the later
16	ones.
17	Q Right. And we're going to we're going
18	to come to that as well. Let's let's look at if we
19	can tab 72 and let's mark that one Exhibit JW10.
20	(Winer Exhibit JW10 was marked for purposes
21	of identification.)
22	BY MS. ERB:
23	Q And so again we're on the FATF website and
24	this is for Saudi Arabia.
25	MR. CARTER: When is this?



January 12, 2024 104

1 BY MS. ERB:
2 Q And if you go to the second page of the

PDF, Saudi Arabia has been a member since 2019 and there was a 2018 assessment of the kingdom's measures

5 to tackle money laundering and terrorist financing.

A Right.

7 MR. CARTER: I'm just going to object to 8 all of this. It's material he's not seen relating

10 MS. ERB: I understand.

MR. CARTER: -- 20 years after the period of conduct at issue.

MS. ERB: I understand.

MR. CARTER: I don't understand what this has to do with anything.

MS. ERB: It has to do with the fact that he -- he's relying on the FATF 40 recommendations in his report and I'm referring to house states implement and adopt those recommendations as they are updated over time and we will come to that. So if you'll bear with me, I'd like to continue with my questions.

BY MS. ERB:

Q If we can go to page 3.

MR. CARTER: Just a continuing objection.

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January 12, 2024 

1 BY MS. ERB:

Q Page 3 of the PDF. And it says Saudi
Arabia is now compliant on 17 of the 40
recommendations, largely compliant on 21 and partially
compliant on two. Do you see that?

A Yes.

Q And would you agree again that without -I'm not asking you to do an evaluation of which ones,
et cetera, but would you agree that the statement here
is that Saudi Arabia is compliant on 17 of the 40,
largely compliant on 21 and partially compliant on two?
MR. CARTER: Objection to form.

THE WITNESS: I don't know the date of the documents. It appears to be a document related to around 2020 as near as I can tell because it references a 2018 mutual evaluation. I have not read the document before, never seen the document. And it's outside the scope of my expert report, but it says Saudi Arabia's progress and strengthening measures to tackle money laundering and terrorist finance. That's good that they're making process.

22 BY MS. ERB:

Q And if we can go to the next page of the -it looks like the date is 17 January 2020. So coming
back to your report on the 1996 --



January 12, 2024 106

1	A Yeah.
2	Q FATF recommendations
3	A Yeah.
4	Q you agree that Al-Rajhi Bank's
5	compliance with the principles in the FATF
6	recommendations would come through its regulator, SAMA,
7	correct?
8	A The standards would be promulgated by its
9	regulator, SAMA. The standards were promulgated by its
10	regulator, SAMA, actually the year before the recom
11	the 1996 recommendations came. And I believe it was
12	late 1995 when SAMA put together its guidelines and
13	issued its guidelines. That's my memory.
14	At the time, Saudi Arabia did not have
15	anti an anti-money laundering criminal statute or
16	terrorist finance criminal statute, but its regulator
17	did put the FATF 1996 recommendations into place to a
18	very considerable extent for the financial institutions
19	of Saudi Arabia.
20	Q And in paragraph 5.2 of your report where
21	you describe the the 1996 recommendations, you say
22	in 1996 under the U.S. presidency of FATF, the
23	organization amended the 40 recommendations explicitly
24	to cover all serious crimes including terrorism,
25	correct?



A	That's	what	it	says,	uh-huh.

Q Now, in the 1996 introduction to the 40 recommendations which you cite, they make -- that intromakes no mention of counterterrorism, correct?

A Correct.

Q And in your report at 5.4, and this goes on for a while, you're quoting the FATF 4 -- 1996 FATF 40 recommendations, correct?

A Yes.

Q And none of those recommendations as quoted in your report include the word terrorism, correct?

A That's right. They don't include the word terrorism. They don't include the word corruption.

They don't include the word theft. They don't include the word bribery. They don't include the word murder.

They don't include the word rape. They don't include the word extortion. They don't include the word fraud.

They do include only one type of crime and that's because the FATF previously had covered that crime which was drug trafficking. Everything else is within the context of all serious crimes. Since Saudi Arabia and the United -- to the best of my memory and the United States and most other countries at that point included various acts of terrorism as serious crimes as a result of the ceding to various UN



January 12, 2024 

conventions covering serious crime like blowing up airplanes, that kind of thing.

And there's a whole list of them. Thos

would be -- terrorism would be covered under serious crimes, but it was no more specifically mentioned than was murder or rape or corruption or extortion or theft or fraud or any other drug -- any other crime other than drugs which had been the original coverage.

Q And would you also agree that in 1996, the FATF guidelines that you quote do not contain any particular recommendations on charities or nongovernmental organizations?

A I don't recollect that there were any, but I don't believe there were any. But I don't recollect. I think that they're broader principles at that point that they're talking about. Charities were under discussion in the UN system in connection with terrorist finance prior to 911 which is why the terrorist finance convention of 1999 was put into place and there's reference to it in connection with those deliberations. I think I covered that in the report.

Q And earlier in your testimony, you made reference to the October 2001 FATF updates --

A Yes.

Q -- to the recommendations. And these would



January 12, 2024

1	have been one month after 9/11		
2	A Yes.		
3	Q updated recommendations?		
4	A That's correct.		
5	Q And in footnote 109 of your report on page		
6	43, you state that the updated FATF 40 recommendations		
7	are outside the scope of your expert report; is that		
8	right?		
9	A I'm sorry. I don't follow what you just		
10	said.		
11	Q So in the last sentence of footnote 109		
12	since the 9/11 attacks		
13	A Right.		
14	Q the FATF 40 recommendations have been		
15	repeatedly updated, but those updates are outside the		
16	scope of this		
17	A Yes. I ref I reference what happened in		
18	2001 somewhere, I think, but the question that I was		
19	asked was prior to September 11th, 2001.		
20	Q I understand.		
21	A So I was trying to be responsive to the		
22	question that was asked and to limit myself in that		
23	way.		
24	Q But it's your understanding then that in		
25	October 2001, the FATF updated its recommendations?		



January 12, 2024 110

1	A Oh, yes.
2	Q Okay. And in the history on the FATF web
3	page which we can go back to if you'd like to see it,
4	but there's a statement that says in October of 2001,
5	the FATF issued eight special recommendations on
6	terrorist finance.
7	A That's correct.
8	Q Okay. So so would you agree that the
9	FATF recommendations before 9/11 did not contain a
10	reference did not target terrorist financing, but
11	after 9/11 on Oct in October 2001, the FATF
12	promptly, swiftly undertook to update its
13	recommendations to address terrorist financing?
14	MR. CARTER: Objection.
15	THE WITNESS: I agree that in 2001, the
16	FATF gave much more explicit guidance on how to address
17	terrorist finance because of what happened with the
18	9/11 attacks. As mentioned earlier, terrorism is a
19	serious crime and 1996 incorporated all serious crimes.
20	And I was around then in the U.S. government discussing
21	these issues with other countries including in

And the issue was is that there were a lot of discussions about how individual countries were going to regard terrorism, who was a terrorist, who

connection with FATF and UN activities both.



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January 12, 2024

wasn't a terrorist. And there was not harmonization on 1 2 all of that and that was not only true of terrorism. 3 It was also true of corruption which was another area where certain countries particularly in the European 4 5 union in that period of time that didn't want to express mention of active bribery. That is paying 6 7 bribes because bribes were still tax deductible in the 8 European union. So a decision was made to list all serious 9 10 crimes knowing that terrorism was included among all serious crimes because pretty much all the members of 11 12 FATF, maybe all of them had signed on to various 13 terrorist conventions and, therefore, had made an 14 international commitment to treat terrorism -- pardon 15 me -- as a serious offense. So that's my understanding

17 BY MS. ERB:

of the context of it.

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Q Going back to the FATF website and here it's the description of the history of FATF and I suggest that we do pull this up. This is tab 83.

(Winer Exhibit JW11 was marked for purposes of identification.)

THE WITNESS: While you pull that up, let's take a five-minute -- not 10 or 15, but a five-minute break.



January 12, 2024 112

1 Five-minute break, sure. MS. ERB: 2 THE WITNESS: Yes, just five. Very brief. THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off the record at 12:28. 3 4 (Deposition recessed at 12:28 p.m.) 5 (Deposition resumed at 12:33 p.m.) 6 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Back on the record at 7 12:33. 8 BY MS. ERB: 9 So when we -- before the break, we were 10 pulling up tab 83 which is marked as JW Exhibit 11. And this is again a page from the FATF website. And if 11 12 you look at the second paragraph, the FATF states that 13 it was given responsibility to examine money laundering 14 techniques and trends, review the action already taken 15 at a national or international level and to set up 16 measures needed to combat money laundering. In 2001, the FATF expanded its mandate to 17 18 also combat terrorist financing. Would you agree that 19 the FATF expanded its mandate as to what -- the scope of what it was covering in 2001? 20 21 Α It expanded the scope of its 22 recommendations to go beyond 40 recommendations which 23 covered all serious crimes to add -- which necessarily 24 includes terrorist crimes as defined in UN conventions 25 to expressly provide direction and quidance on how to



1	address terrorist financing. So in that sense, its
2	mandate expanded, but it already included all serious
3	crimes prior to that date. So I would understand it to
4	be a reference to the special recommendations on
5	terrorist finance that were made in October 2001.
6	Q And going going back to the operation of
7	these recommendations at a state level, we described
8	earlier that there would be implementation by the state
9	through its bank regulator where the recommendations
10	are relating to financial institutions and that would
11	become to the extent they're implemented, it becomes
12	part of local law, state law; is that correct?
13	A Yes. Yes, that's correct.
14	Q Okay. And in the case of Al-Rajhi Bank,
15	Al-Rajhi Bank's regulator is the Saudi Arabian monetary
16	authority, SAMA, correct?
17	A Correct.
18	Q And
19	A It's changed its name since. That's now
20	the Saudi Central Bank, but it was SAMA at the time.
21	Q And to the extent Saudi Arabia and SAMA
22	adopted the FATF 40 recommendations, those
23	recommendations would be implemented through Saudi law,
24	Saudi circulars, SAMA circulars, guidelines, et cetera,



right?

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January 12, 2024 114

1 Α Yes. 2 Q And are you -- do you consider yourself an 3 expert on Saudi banking regulations? I am on the Saudi banking regulations 4 5 relating to money laundering in terms of the 1995 I 6 think November circular that was issued because I spent 7 a lot of time with that. I have not spent a lot of 8 time with every other Saudi bank regulation. I am an 9 international banking regulatory attorney. I continue 10 to practice in the area and I have had clients within the past 12 months seeking my advice on particular 11 12 elements of gulf state banking regulation up to the 13 current day. That's the best answer I can give you. 14 Have I read every Saudi circular governing 15 I would look at it in connection with a banks, no. 16 particular matter as an attorney or as an expert 17 witness. 18 But you're not a Saudi -- you're not a 0 19 Saudi banking law expert? 20 MR. CARTER: Objection. 21 THE WITNESS: I'm an expert in comparative 22 banking law. I've been a banking regulatory attorney 23 in various forms except for my -- periods of my 24 government service over much of the last 20 years, not

all of it, but much of it including currently. It's an



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January 12, 2024 

area where I have practiced even recently.

Any type of banking regulation you look at in terms of as a -- in a comparative way unless it's purely domestic application, in a comparative way for the reasons I articulated before which is how does it compare to the regulations in other countries, what is the relationship of it.

So, for example, I'm trying to answers your questions directly as I can. Gulf states currently are trying to address elements of what they have to do in connection with U.S. laws on the reporting of entities that may have relationships with U.S. persons. And so as banks get -- as a new bank comes into existence, they may want guidance on will the following forms, will the following boilerplate meet the requirements of the EU, will they meet the requirements of the U.S., that kind of thing.

So you drill down as an attorney on a particular matter on a particular issue in order to understand it based on the laws and regulations that are applicable to understanding that issue. So in that context, I look at Saudi banking law from time to time as need be. I have spent a lot of time with that original circular.

BY MS. ERB:



Q On a comparative basis as you say?

A On a comparative basis and trying to understand how it would work in connection with also mutual evaluations because I was deeply involved with the mutual evaluation process in the 1990s.

Q Which again is at the state level?

A The mutual evaluation process is at a

A The mutual evaluation process is at a college of state levels which is to say different countries' regulators and experts. It's not just the regulators. It's people from the State Department, people from the Treasury Department, people from the Justice Department, people from the banking regulatory agencies like the Federal Reserve where they control the currency will come together to evaluate an individual country's FATF compliance like the document you showed me from 2020 which I had never seen before because I hadn't been asked to look at it.

Back in the 1990s which is what my report covers really fundamentally up to period 2001 and most of the questions, the key document was the 1995 SAMA circular and that would have been what would have been evaluated in a comparative basis.

Q And so you would not in your work as a comparative lawyer or expert on comparative banking standards, international banking standards, you would



MR. CARTER:

January 12, 2024 

not consider yourself an expert as to whether a bank outside of the United States has complied with its local laws and local requirements?

THE WITNESS: That actually depends. I had been asked that question by gulf state banks because in the case of some gulf states and some situations, their local laws are dependent on their status by the United States as part of a bilateral agreement to have their banks credentialed in particular ways.

Objection.

So there's both multilateral and bilateral requirements that local banks may be relying on. So the question might well be is this language going to be good enough for the United States in a way that the gulf states' regulator will say this is absolutely fine and copacetic and we're not going to have a problem. That's an actual case that I was asked to provide regulatory guidance on by a client within the past year as a for -- as a for example.

So I think if you're trying to say do I provide advice to domestic banks of Saudi Arabia on purely domestic Saudi issues, no. Would I provide advice to a Saudi bank on an issue in which there are obligations not only to their own regulator but which has implications for their correspondent banking



relationships which are absolutely essential for their function, yes. So the answer is not a black and white simple question. It just depends on the issue.

Q But you certainly based on everything you said today in this -- in this deposition, you would not hold yourself out as a Saudi banking lawyer?

A I'm not qualified to practice law in Saudi Arabia, so it would not be proper for me to advise a Saudi institution on a purely Saudi issue unless there are international issues associated with it. I have been asked as I stated by clients to opine on issues that relate to local laws of local gulf states because of their interrelationship with international banking standards including obligations to the United States, but not just the United States.

Q And have you ever conducted a financial audit of a Saudi Arabian bank?

A I have not.

Q Have you conducted a financial audit of any bank?

A It depends what you mean by audit. I have participated in working with auditors in designing compliance reviews and interpreting the results of the compliance reviews in -- of more than one bank based overseas in order to assist that bank in coming into



January 12, 2024 119

1 compliance with not only its domestic money laundering 2 standards and international money laundering standards, 3 but with its needs in relationship to its corresponded banking relationship. 4 So when a bank gets in trouble with 5 6 corresponded banks, it may call on me, for example, to 7 help do a clean up. What do we have to do to get out 8 of the mess that we're in in terms of compliance. And 9 there I might retain a forensic auditor to do the auditing part. I might help them design what the audit 10 program is going to look like. I'll look at their --11 12 what their proposed approach is going to be, make 13 recommendations. I'll then interview people in the 14 I'll look at bank records. I've done that from 15 time to time. 16 Have you ever done that exercise with a O Saudi bank? 17 18 A No. 19 And when you are looking at SAMA 20 regulations, you are looking at the English versions,

A I do not read Arabic. I do not write

Arabic. I don't speak Arabic. Through all of my

years, I've never mastered a second language adequately

to be able to do that without assistance in a way that



correct? You don't speak Arabic?

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1	I feel comfortable with when it comes to legal
2	documents which is why I rely on translators as I did
3	throughout the time I was a diplomat to assure me the
4	documents are accurate in both languages.
5	Q And in preparing your report in this case,
6	did you consult at all with a Saudi law expert or a
7	Saudi banking law expert that spoke Arabic?
8	A If I had done that, I would have reported
9	that in this report.
10	Q And you were previously disqualified from
11	opining on the banking laws of a foreign country; is
12	that correct?
13	A Not exactly. It's not exactly correct, no.
14	Q And here I'm referring to the McDonald case
15	which related to Canadian interpretation of the laws of
16	Canada. Do you recall that?
17	A I'm aware of the case and I'm aware of what
18	you're referring to. My understanding from the
19	attorneys, and I was not present during the discussion
20	with the judge, is that I actually was not
21	disqualified. There was a decision made to limit the
22	scope of what I would cover to international

comparative law because I was not a Canadian lawyer.

And that decision was made not to put that part of my

testimony as -- within the scope of the testimony that



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I gave to the judge, but I believe I was not disqualified.

- O So the -- the --
- A I testified in the case extensively on international money laundering standards and their application to that particular case.
- Q Okay. The Court in that case stated that -- let me just read this. It says despite qualifying them as expert, I ruled that both Mr. Winer and Mr. Delstin (ph) were not qualified to provide opinion evidence regarding the interpretation or application of the laws of Canada or Ontario. Indeed they both acknowledged that they were not experts in Canadian banking practices and have no experience with the Canadian regulatory regime.
- A That's not an accurate characterization of my testimony or my experience. It's correct that I would have told the judge if asked, and I don't recollect the details, that I was not qualified to practice law in Canada. I'm qualified to practice law in the United States. I'm not qualified to practice law in Canada, but I've been consulted by the Canadian government about the application of its money laundering laws and was prior to 9/11.
  - Q And here you're not qualified to practice



law in Saudi Arabia as you say, but do you consider yourself an expert in Saudi banking regulations to assess a bank's compliance with the regulations of its local regulator as a matter of Saudi law?

A It depends. If you're talking about the English language, side-by-side version English language, Arabic language purporting to be the same of the 1995 circular which is based on FATF standards based on review of evidence, one can determine whether actions were taken that are set forth in that regulation or not.

And I feel completely competent to do that based on the review that I've undertaken and I undertook that review. And the plain English meaning of the words is I think quite clear particularly in the context of FATF recommendations and international standards.

So you look at the plain meaning of the words. That's what comparative law is all about. And here I'm not providing my opinion to a Saudi court or to the Saudi government. And the case you cited, ma'am, was in Canada. It was about Canadian law in Canada. He's not a Canadian lawyer. I'm not making representations here about Saudi law to a Saudi court.

Q But you are making --



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I'm an American specialist as an American specialist and expert in comparative banking law to an American court about the plain meaning of the terms of the regulations issued by the Saudi Arabian monetary authority in 1995 and I feel qualified to do that. Do you feel qualified to state whether a 0 Saudi bank has somehow violated a rule of Saudi law? Α In terms of the law as written and in English, again, some of the English and the Arabic are the same as is represented from the circulars. Saudi regulation, yes, depending on the facts. It's a contextual issue. It depends in part on how gross it is, how clear it is. You look at the facts. You apply That's what comparative legal experts do based on their knowledge of the whole international banking system which I spent decades working in. But, again, this would be your subjective Q view of those laws, not your views as an auditor of the Saudi bank or a lawyer determining the bank's compliance with its own local laws of its regulator? I am not advising -- in connection with my Α expert report, I'm not advising the Saudi bank on what

to do about compliance. I could do that if asked with

a forensic auditor and with a Saudi lawyer, but this is

for a different purpose. This is looking at what the



SAMA regulations were in 1995, their relationship to the 40 recommendations as set forth in my report and my examination of the evidence from the bank what it actually did. And I've done that in this report, laid it out in great -- at great depth and length and I'm comfortable with the assessments that I made.

Q And because you're not an auditor, you don't really know how common the types of issues you identify in your report were among Saudi banks at that time?

A I have heard this particular line of approach before in other cases and this was made I think in the Arab bank case that I was an expert in about what's common practice amongst banks and what's the standard of compliance. And I think that's what you're asking me about as near as I can tell.

And in that area, the position that I've taken in the past and I think is the right one is unless you are -- have examined a lot of banks in a particular jurisdiction, you're not in a position to opine about common practice and I'm not sure that common practice is the proper standard in any case.

In the case of the United States, many major U.S. banks have faced fines sometimes in billion dollars or more, very, very large fines for various



1	kinds of money laundering failures. So you have to
2	looking at the state of compliance in a particular
3	country is I think not the relevant test. It's up to a
4	court to decide.
5	But as I look at things, I compare what the
6	rules require and a financial institution did, not
7	referring to what some other financial institution
8	might have done. I look at what happened in a
9	particular case based on all the evidence available to
10	me. That's what I've tried to do here.
11	Q And, again, we're talking about the 1990s?
12	A We're taking the questions I was asked
13	and which I've the report covers is prior to
14	September 11th, 2001.
15	Q In section 9 of your report, around 9.31, I
16	believe let me just get there you talk about
17	reviewing the account opening documents for certain of
18	the charities that we're discussing.
19	A Yes.
20	Q And you note that in 9.32 that the
21	fields
22	A What page are you on, please?
23	Q So this is page 146. And in paragraph
24	9.32, you noted that some of the fields in the account
25	opening forms were missing information; is that



1	correct?
2	A

A Yes.

Q And do you recall from your review of these documents that many of these documents were manually filled out?

A I don't recollect when there was handwritten and when there was typed. And I don't know what the word manual means here as opposed to what you're contrasting it with. You mean by computer or electric?

Q That it was handwritten, you know, handwritten forms filled out and not -- not entered on a computer or otherwise.

A I looked at the English language versions for most of this rather than the Arabic version. You can show me a particular document and we could go through it.

Q And do you -- do you know based on your review of these documents what the standard would have been in Saudi Arabia in the 1990s if you take on faith for a moment that these were handwritten which I represent to you they were what the standard of data collection was in Saudi Arabia at this time?

A What I know is that the 9/11 commission and the monograph on terrorist finance consistent with my



January 12, 2024 

understanding when I was a U.S. government official at the State Department in the late 1990s, very late in my tenure, was that Saudi Arabia was not enforcing its anti-money laundering regulations which is one of the reasons we sent teams to Saudi Arabia to try to put pressure on them to shape up.

This was not just a problem in Saudi
Arabia, however. It was a problem in a number of
countries which is why I went to Israel, Lebanon,
Syria, Cyprus to talk about countries in the region to
address similar issues of especially noncompliance with
what we needed to be safe and to have international
money laundering standards be applied appropriately.

Another team, it didn't happen to be me, went to Saudi Arabia on exactly the same issues. There were special considerations that were given to the outreach to what was called -- what were called the GCC countries at the time.

Excuse me. I'm going to have to pause because I have a pernicious cold that I've now had since late November which rears up from time to time. I'm going to need just one minute. Please take us off.

MS. ERB: Should we break for lunch?

THE WITNESS: No. I want to continue and finish this sentence, please.



January 12, 2024 128

THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off the record at 12:57. 1 2 (Deposition recessed at 12:57 p.m.) 3 (Deposition resumed at 12:58 p.m.) THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We are back on the 4 5 record at 12:58. 6 THE WITNESS: So the problem that was -- we 7 were perceived to have had prior to 9/11 and this is 8 1997, '98, '99 to be precise as possible was that the 9 anti-money laundering standards that the FATF had agreed on had not been implemented in practice, in some 10 cases even de jure, but in a number of countries in 11 12 reality. And so we sent out teams and I led teams to a 13 number of different countries to put -- to press on and 14 make more of a priority for adherence to the anti-money 15 laundering laws. 16 So Saudi Arabia was not the only country here that was not doing what it needed to do to enforce 17

here that was not doing what it needed to do to enforce the anti-money laundering regulations it had. Based on what I've already said to you, I can't comment on what common practice in Saudi Arabia actually was at that time. I can only look at what the SAMA standards say you're supposed to do or required to do and what they were actually doing based on the incomplete documents provided to me. That's what I did in this report.

BY MS. ERB:



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January 12, 2024 

Q And did you identify in your report any SAMA enforcement action against Al-Rajhi Bank with respect to its noncompliance with Saudi -- excuse me -- with SAMA regulations?

A To the contrary, I identified in my report statements by U.S. officials and agencies. Monograph on terrorist finance has been particular as a good example, but I think it's also the 9/11 report and it's elsewhere I think in a joint assessment by the CIA and FBI in 2004 that there had been nonenforcement of the SAMA regulations by SAMA in Saudi Arabia and that that was a problem. That's what I'd heard back when I was at the State Department in the late 1990s which is why we sent a team out.

Q And based on your -- the documents you reviewed and your experience with the many countries that apparently were not up to the U.S. standards with respect to their money laundering laws, do you have any reason to or any document to point to that the level of information in the documents, account opening documents you reviewed were not -- were unusual as compared to the account opening documents in any other banks in Saudi Arabia or other countries that you've listed? You listed a number of them.

A I was not doing bank examinations in the



late 1990s. I was dealing with entire jurisdictions that were not meeting -- you made one statement that I have to disagree with that's in your question as an assumption. It's not about -- it was not about U.S. standards. It was about the international standards that had been put into place in 1996 which we needed as a matter of national security. This was not just about banking regulation. This was about national security.

I came into this field at the very, very beginning before there were any international standards on banking and there was a recognition you could create both systemic risk and risk of serious financial crimes of various natures if you didn't have an integrated, harmonized international system.

The GCC in the time that I was at the State Department was considered a black hole in this area for compliance. It was just complete nonfeasance in practice regardless of what the regulations were on paper. Different countries had different levels of regulations on paper.

Saudi as I mentioned had no terrorist finance law to my understanding criminalizing it or criminalizing money laundering. What it had was the SAMA regulations as the only thing to provide guidance and protection. And the perception was and this was



true maybe reiterated years later after 9/11 that it wasn't being enforced.

And the information that I saw was consistent with SAMA nonenforcement which is to say they weren't doing -- what they were doing was they were doing account opening documents. We're going to make sure we got the right person on as a signatory. We're going to make sure we have the right person on as a signatory, not much else.

And for small accounts, you know, a Joe
Dokes depositing the income from his small business,
it's not going to matter. Big clients, big amounts of
money, transnational activity, that matters.

Q To come back to what you saw in the documents you reviewed, again, to be clear, you did not see any indication of a violation of SAMA banking regulation that SAMA notified the bank about that SAMA was asking the bank about or taking enforcement action against the bank?

A The records that I saw were consistent with the finding of the 9/11 commission's staff report on the monograph that there was no enforcement action undertaken by SAMA. I don't know of any enforcement action taken by SAMA against anyone prior to 9/11 in connection with its policies. If there is any, I've



January 12, 2024 132

1 never seen it. 2 Q So I think I would like to take a lunch 3 break here and I'll defer to you on how long you would like for launch. I would like 30 minutes or -- but --4 5 It's -- then 30 minutes. Α 6 Q Is that enough time for you? 7 MR. CARTER: Thirty will do. Let's try not 8 to go too much longer. THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We're off the record at 9 10 1:04. 11 (Recessed at 1:04 p.m. for lunch.) 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25



January 12, 2024

1	AFTERNOON SESSION		
2	(Reconvened at 1:42 p.m.)		
3	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We are back on the		
4	record at 1:42.		
5	BY MS. ERB:		
6	Q Mr. Winer, are you familiar with the term		
7	zivot?		
8	A Yes.		
9	Q Can you tell us what your understanding of		
10	that term is?		
11	A It's a one of the pillars of Islam.		
12	It's the requirement that good Muslims contribute a		
13	portion of their income or wealth to other Muslims for		
14	a common or good cause.		
15	Q And you would agree that a contribution of		
16	zivot or fulfilling your zivot obligations is not a		
17	suspicious activity or a suggestion of terrorist aims,		
18	correct?		
19	A Yes.		
20	Q And you agree that one way to make to		
21	fulfill your zivot obligations is to make donations to		
22	charitable organizations?		
23	A Yes.		
24	Q And, sir, have you ever consulted the Koran		
25	in any way?		



January 12, 2024 134

1	A I've read it.
2	Q You've read it. Okay. Are you familiar
3	with the verse 2-2271?
4	A Not by number. I couldn't tell you the
5	number of any part of the old testament or the new
6	testament either. I'd have to read the text, though
7	I've read all three.
8	Q I'm going to read you
9	A Sure.
10	Q an English translation and if you feel
11	the need to pull that up, we can do so, but it's very
12	short. It says if you disclose your charity, it is
13	well, but if you conceal it and give it to the poor,
14	that is better for you.
15	A Yes, I'm aware of that.
16	Q You're aware of that. Okay. And against
17	that tenet, would you agree that charitable donations
18	including charitable donations to fulfill zivot
19	obligations are sometimes made without disclosing the
20	name of the donor?
21	MR. CARTER: Objection.
22	THE WITNESS: Yes, sometimes they are.
23	BY MS. ERB:
24	Q And do you agree that the donations where
25	the name of the donor may not be disclosed is not



January 12, 2024 

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1	suspicious?

A Not in the absence of other facts. Other facts might make it potentially suspicious. And I note in the case of Sulaiman Al-Rajhi, he had a foundation with his name in it. His charity had his name in it.

Q And does that mean that you think any charitable donation that includes his name is suspicious?

A No. I think that he traveled a nation that includes his name is not anonymous unless there's been an effort to make it anonymous.

Q Well, sir, if I may, there are -- there's a charitable foundation that may make and manage charitable contributions, but when an individual is making a charitable contribution and they don't want to disclose their name, are you saying that just because he has a charitable foundation that manages his wealth would -- if Bill Gates wants to make an anonymous contribution, is that suspicious because he has a charitable foundation?

MR. CARTER: Objection.

THE WITNESS: That's not -- that's not actually what I said. I'm happy to take a minute to try and separate out the different elements of it.

It's perfectly fine to make an anonymous donation. I'm



BY MS. ERB:

January 12, 2024 

not aware of any reason why an anonymous charitable donation would in and of itself be a problem.

Very large donations of charity to a Dawah organization which is operating in areas of conflict might be the type of contributions that would be of high risk for the reasons I go through at some length in my report. A person who has set up a charitable foundation or a committee under his name would not seem to me to be a person who is seeking to keep his contributions overall secret.

Documents would suggest as I've seen in this case an individual wanting secrecy in part because of public revelations of his -- the charity under his name and related -- related entities being linked to terrorist finance, that would raise some questions for me as I articulate in the report.

Q And, sir, if -- we may want to go and look at one of those in a moment, but the general principle that somebody of immense wealth that may have a charitable foundation and that is fulfilling his individual's zivot obligations through a donation, if that donation is made anonymously, do you agree that in

MR. CARTER: Objection to form.

and of itself that is not suspicious conduct?



January 12, 2024 

THE WITNESS: It depends on the context.

For example, if you're making it at home locally in your country to a local organization that's nearby to a local person, if you're dropping off a turkey for somebody for Christmas dinner locally, an anonymous contribution might be absolutely normal.

If you're moving money all around the world to a bunch of Dawah organizations that are in conflict zones as the entities that you referred to earlier as charities and as I refer to as Dawah organizations in my report are engaged in a wide range of activities and there's public press on them which there was and you're making an anonymous contribution and there's references to this being made in part and structuring being made in part to keep it anonymous because of associations with terrorism, that's a different story. And that's the story that I saw in this case and it suggests a motive other than the motive articulated in the saura (ph) that you quoted.

BY MS. ERB:

Q And when you have charitable organizations that are operating in conflict zones, you agree that the activities that those charitable organizations are engaging in may be legitimate?

A They have been in the case of these



January 12, 2024 

charities a mixture of legitimate and illegitimate.

The illegitimate activities I've described in various expert reports as well as the legitimate activities.

When I was in the United States government, one of the barriers or concerns the United States government had about talking publicly about the risks of the charities and doing more about the -- in response to the charities was because they were doing some humanitarian activity in some countries, substantial humanitarian in conflict zones.

And they were intermingled with a wrongful activity where you don't really want to be in a situation of preventing a charity from engaging in humanitarian activity which is why for a charity like that to function and function well, you need to have really good governance and really good due diligence to prevent the risk of diversion and harm coming from the charity doing the wrong thing like working with Al-Qaeda and bin Laden notoriously as the state supported charity, al-Heramain, did according to the words of the Saudi Arabian government.

Q In 2004?

A The Saudis -- Saudis said over a period of time different phrases initially about the Al-Jabbaar, about the branches, but ultimately about the entire



organization later. And so the need for due diligence and for really careful recordkeeping and accounting and auditing becomes just tremendously important in order to know that they're clean.

So if you're involved in giving to charities, you want to know what their financial large amounts. You want to know what their financial statements are, what they're doing, where they're doing it to make sure that your charitable contributions are going for things that are good, not things that are potentially dangerous.

Q And is it your testimony that in the 1990s, that level of diligence on charitable donations was the norm and that international regulations would expect that and that Saudi regulations would expect that?

A The Saudi regulations we can certainly get into. They were not adhered to when it came to these charities in my opinion. And I've articulated in the expert report why I came to that opinion and what the basis for it was. I'm less interested as I said to you before in what some undefined set of international norms are supposed to be of actual practice.

The question is what are you actually doing and what harm is it causing, what's the risk. This goes to the whole point of the anti-money laundering



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programs which is that they're risk based. They're not list base. They're risk based. And there was great risk here with these charities. The risk was fulfilled and practiced by what they wound up doing and, therefore, due diligence was required in order to ensure that you weren't contributing to terrorism. Now, the CIA lays out in its various reports what it found the Al-Rajhi family was doing and what it found ARB was doing, a conduit for terrorist finance. What I found when I looked at the ARB documents, there was no due diligence by ARB. And what I found when it came to Sulaiman Al-Rajhi or SAAR, the founder of the SAAR Foundation, is an effort to make things going through the United States anonymous tied to wanting to address the fact that there have been allegations or terrorist finance. And there's a document that says that, but it's also reported separately by conversations that the SAAR Foundation head in the United States, with IRS officers as articulated in the Kane affidavits. And just to be clear, there was no action ever taken with respect to in the United

States, no destination or prosecution to your



awareness?

January 12, 2024 

A To the best of my knowledge, he was not designated. Al-Heramain U.S. was eventually designated. It was controversial because it's a U.S. entity for the same reason the Hoyland (ph) Foundation was controversial because it was a U.S. entity because designations had historically been almost entirely of foreigners because the underlying authority of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act is based on foreign threats and foreign national sec -- economic national security threats.

So if you look at the whole history of U.S. sanctions, it's directed at threats from outside which makes it particularly inapplicable in general to threats from inside which was among the points the court made I believe ultimately in the Oregon al-Heramain case which is this question of the extent to which various criminal processes of due process are required if it's a domestic target as opposed to a foreign target under IEEPA authorities which have different standards.

And was not designated. You're correct. And the best of my knowledge, he wasn't indicted either. That's a criminal standard. In my report, I articulate part of the reason and I don't know for sure of the various elements of the decisions



January 12, 2024 

made on Green Quest.

But one of the reasons it would have been hard to go ahead and prosecute and those reasons are essentially records were international. The records weren't all located in the United States. There were records located in the Isle of Man, a bank secrecy haven that I complained to about the British government in the 1990s personally and in Saudi Arabia. So you would have to know on the inside what the reasons were, but those are among the possible reasons why there was no action taken given the evidence that existed.

Q And in your -- in your review of the documents, you have not seen any charitable donation by the bank, by Sulaiman Al-Rajhi that you identify as being intend -- where the documents show that the beneficiary of that donation was a terrorist or was being used for terrorist aims, correct?

A Charities -- yes, correct. Charities are not allowed to give money for that kind of purpose.

It's outside what charities are allowed to do. It would be an immediate violation of the terms of the AHM charity to write that down. I've never seen a charity anywhere or a bank anywhere with two partial exceptions, one which is Al-Rajhi, the other which is Arab Bank, ever make a reference to providing support



January 12, 2024

for terrorist. I haven't seen it over decades in this 1 2 field. 3 The reference I'm talking about here are payments to martyrs which are in terms referenced I 4 5 think in 9/11 commission report if my memory is 6 accurate, but payments for martyrs for Hamas which as 7 far as I'm concerned is terrorist finance. Hamas was 8 engaging in terrorist activity. So -- and the SAAR Foundation in the United 9 10 States and the SAAR Charitable Foundation in the 11 kingdom of Saudi Arabia were never designated, right? 12 Α The kingdom of Saudi Arabia? 13 The SAAR Charitable Foundation that 0 14 was -- that is founded in Saudi Arabia, that was never 15 designated and the SAAR Foundation in the United States 16 that was the subject of the Kane affidavit was never 17 designated? 18 That's correct to the best of my knowledge. Α 19 And you agree coming back to where we started on charitable contributions that charities 20

started on charitable contributions that charities operating in war zones are engaging in legitimate conduct and that charitable donations to charities operating in conflict zones would be one way for Muslims to fulfill their zivot obligations?

A Yes, though the statement is incomplete.



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It's true so far as it goes. It's incomplete because it does not address the risk of improper uses which I believe is incumbent on someone to pay attention to if they're directing a charity or making large payments. And indeed it's not just my opinion there. The -there are particular requirements that SAMA made both for organ -- large organizations be handled by a bank and for accounts generally.

And here it gets a little complex because you have Sulaiman Al-Rajhi as head of the bank, co-founder of the bank and head of the bank. And you have him as head of the SAAR Foundation whether you're talking about the SAAR committee, the SAAR Charitable Foundation in Saudi, those two different things, one of which was incorporated, the other which I don't know what it was and the one in the United States.

So you're having these multiple roles simultaneously and you have people at the foundation who are also -- at the SAAR Foundation who are also working for the al-Heramain Foundation for the head of the bank. So given the complex set of relationships, you would want due diligence to be done somewhere and as near as I can tell, it wasn't done.

And for charities in Saudi Arabia that were headquartered in Saudi Arabia that may have had



January 12, 2024 

branches overseas, do you know when the law came into effect that restricted transfers from the Saudi headquarters to projects or branches overseas?

A It was discussed in 2003 and 2004. In 2004, the United States government was still saying they didn't think -- even later that it couldn't tell when that was actually being put into place. And there's some evidence in the record about al-Heramain being shut down and then popping up again until it was completely eradicated as a charity.

And eventually the central control was undertaken by Saudi Arabia well after 9/11 precisely because of the problems that I've just talked through which is they need to control the mass -- the uses of the massive flows of humanitarian aid going through the Dawah organizations from Saudi Arabia internationally which had led to the notorious use of al-Heramain on behalf of Al-Qaeda and bin Laden himself in the Saudi government's words even as al-Heramain was receiving support from the Saudi government.

And I believe there's individuals in documents I saw who were simultaneously working for al-Heramain and for the Ministry of Islamic Affairs, Islamic and Dawah affairs. So it was a simultaneous role which makes all of this for me as someone who is



not wanting to see states sponsoring terrorism or state sponsored charities or supported charities sponsoring terrorism or facilitating terrorism. It's all very troubling. And here you have so many different roles for Sheikh Abdullah at the same time that it becomes particularly problematic because the lack of due diligence looks like a matter of policy.

Q And would you like to correct your record there? I think you mean -- I don't think you meant to refer to -- I don't know who you mean by Sheikh Abdullah. I don't know what you mean by that.

A I'm sorry. Sheikh Sulaiman Abdullah -Sulaiman Abdulaziz Al-Rajhi. Forgive me. That was a
misstatement. I did not mean the current chair. I
meant SAAR which is why it's a little easier for me to
use that term than the Abdulaziz.

Q So do you disagree that prior to 2003 or maybe 2004 there was no legal prohibition in Saudi Arabia on charities making financial transfers overseas?

A Yes.

Q And do you agree that the funds that were donated to charities operating overseas whether for humanitarian purposes or as you suggest some may have been diverted, do you -- do you agree that those funds



that a donor would not know if making a contribution to that charity what the end use was?

- A No, I don't agree with that.
- Q So explain.

A Sure. Look at the Kosovo establishment of the Saudi joint relief effort in Kosovo. There you have Sulaiman Abdulaziz Al-Rajhi directly involved in pushing for the establishment of that operation which winds up being involved according to various other documentation in terrorist finance over time and which was opening up in a conflict zone, in a very active conflict zone.

It seems to me that if you're opening up a charity in a conflict zone, there's some obligation there to do some due diligence or put some controls in place. It's not just making a donation. It's making a donation for a specific purpose and a specific location just like the donations that were being made to Hamas, to martyrs who were engaged in the second dobara. The second dobara was being pushed by Hamas and Egyptian Islamic Jihad.

Q Now, I mean, I'm --

A So I'm trying -- I am trying to answer your question as best I can. So if you're talking about a small individual donation by somebody putting their



January 12, 2024

money in an ahm's bucket established at the local level in Saudi Arabia, they're not -- it's not reasonable to expect them to do very much due diligence.

When I was growing up in Boston, people used to do those kinds of donations in bars, in Irish bars, and eventually United States government basically cracked down on it and stopped it because some of that money was going to the IRA. This is back in the 1970s and so that was a problem.

The question becomes what the role of the donor is, what the donor's level of knowledge is. Now, SAAR, Sheikh Sulaiman -- Sulaiman -- Sulaiman Abdulaziz Al-Rajhi had a staff of about 20 people according to the material that I reviewed for his charitable committee and had close relationships with senior officials at Muslim World League and the IIRO and I think WAMY and, therefore, was not in a position of somebody on the street doing a small donation to a donation box.

And yet there's no due diligence anywhere that I could see and no controls anywhere I could see during the audits that I've been able to review relating to any of this. So you put all of that together with the patterns of giving and I think it's highly problematic.



January 12, 2024 149

1 So to be clear, the bank is the party in 0 2 the litigation here, so I don't think the -- the lack 3 of audits relating to the other entities is relevant 4 here, but let me --5 I do and I'm happy to tell you why if you'd 6 like me to answer that or respond to that which is the 7 ARB's own rules require you to have financial 8 statements of your customers and to update your 9 documents every three years. And I haven't seen any of 10 those existed for the Dawah organizations --11 Q And do you agree that the --12 Α -- at ARB. 13 Do you agree that the -- that al-Heramain Q 14 was one of the largest and most prominent Saudi 15 charities at the time in the nineties? 16 Α Yes. And do you agree that it was endorsed or 17 18 that it was -- that it was known that many Saudis would 19 be donating to -- whether they're billionaires or as 20 you say individuals of more modest means would be 21 making donations to al-Heramain in the nineties? 22 Α Yes. You reference in your report the term 23 24 Wahhabism? 25 Α Yes.



January 12, 2024 150

Can you tell us what your understanding is 1 2 of Wahhabism? 3 Α Sure. Late 17th century founder of Wahhabism basically created a creed or an 4 5 interpretation of Islam which went back to seventh 6 century values founded on monotheistic values and 7 rejecting a broadening beyond monotheism and being very 8 focused on the monotheistic element of Muslim -- Muslim 9 doctrine and going back as much as possible to the original text and the original words of the prophet 10 11 Muhammad and there's an interplay between the 12 development of Salafism out of Egypt and Wahhabism in 13 Saudi Arabia, but that's the core of it for the 14 purposes of political Islam. 15 And have you -- have you studied --16 formally have you studied Islam? I've studied Islam like I've studied 17 Α 18 Christianity and studied Judaism which is to say in 19 each case, I studied the religions in connection with 20 humanist -- humanist courses in college. I've done reading since. I am not a theological scholar who 21 22 focuses on and has expertize on doctrinal disputes on 23 the various sectoral differences between different 24 interpretations of Christianity, Islam or Judaism. 25 That's not how I spent my time. I have



January 12, 2024 

spent my time on political Islam and the political expression of what Steve Simon and Dan Benjamin refer to as sacred terror which is to say extremism and terrorism in the name of a religion as is -- as is played out in the Middle East and in other areas where Muslims live.

Q And when -- you use again extremism and terrorism. We had a brief conversation about this earlier today. When you use those two terms, are you using those interchangeably?

A Not exactly. They can be close. It really depends on context in the situation. Extremist language can lead to terrorist activity. It can lead to indoctrination when you refer to people of other faiths as monkeys and pigs, for example. That's part of a conditioning of a climate of hatred and I have referred to that in other reports I've written and other elements of this matter in connection with the charities.

And I have looked at extensive materials involving one of the charities that you have mentioned which includes literature that is very disturbing in terms of its extremism in priming somebody who would then potentially engage in conflict on behalf of his religion on an understanding that they were opposing --



January 12, 2024 152

that there was a central conflict between Christianity 1 2 and the west and the Middle East, in particular the 3 historically Arab territories, but anywhere Muslims lived. 4 And that of course in turn mutated into 5 6 what Al-Qaeda was pushing and bin Laden was pushing 7 which was holy war against the west and against the 8 United States as it played out in the terrorist 9 incidents I mentioned earlier in this deposition. 10 And when you are speaking about extremists -- I mean, in your report, you discuss this 11 12 evolution and time when there was a shift, right, 13 from -- in Al-Qaeda when Al-Qaeda turned. And can 14 you -- can you tell us when you think that shift 15 occurred because as you acknowledge in your report, the 16 United States was -- was supporting the mujahideen, right? So what -- how do you -- how do you assess that 17 18 timeline? 19 Α Yeah. 20 MR. CARTER: Objection to form. THE WITNESS: I'll do the best I can 21 22 because it's quote a complex issue and any effort to 23 reduce it into a bite size lecture is going to miss

some of the elements of it, but I'll try and do the



best I can.

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In 1979, there was a rebellion, a fundamentalist rebellion at the Grand Mosque in Saudi Arabia. What I heard when I was a Congressional staffer is that French commandos were brought in to electrocute in the cellars, in the basements, in the tunnels I should say of the Grand Mosque the people who were attacking the Saudi royal family.

In the wake of that, the Saudi royal family moved to a policy of trying to support Islamists, Wahhabi, Salafi, violent Jihad initially in particular in Afghanistan. And it was called the Afghan resistance move. It was called the Afghan Jihad movement. The people who came into -- through that movement were often referred to as foreign fighters because they weren't from Afghanistan.

And from 1980 or so to 1989 in its first form and then there's a secondary form from '89 to '92, the goal was to get the Soviet Union out of Afghanistan and there were areas in which the United States was aligned with. I only got -- began to focus on it in 1985 when I came to work for Senator Kerry as counsel in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and was really exposed to the policy discussions in Washington about it.

And it never made any sense to me to be



January 12, 2024 

giving fanatics military support. I was very concerned about the risks of that as a personal and professional matter from my early days on the senate -- as a senate staffer in the 1980s.

In any case, that war more or less ended with the removal of the Soviet Union forces in '89, but it continued until about 1992 with a civil war which ended and ultimately by 1996, the Taliban took over, the most extreme form of Saudi -- I misspoke -- of Islamic puritanical seventh century anti-female, anti-western standards wound up emerging in the end victorious by 1996.

What happened after Afghanistan is what I call the ABC conflicts. I call them that because it's a convenient way of remembering where they were which is the same idea that was applied to Afghanistan was then applied to Bosnia with massive amounts of money being given to Izetbegovic and under his control and Chechnya which was not really an Arab Muslim movement initially or a puritanical movement, but it got inmeshed with the idea of Islamic resistance or holy war.

And that also was playing out at the same time in Kashmir. It was playing out in a completely different context of Israel, Palestine. There it was



January 12, 2024 155

playing out in -- it played out in Kosovo which I 1 2 referred to a little while ago. And it kept moving 3 further into the west over the course of the 1960s. 4 And you saw that -- I misspoke with that. 5 And you see that playing out in the series of 6 terrorist attacks against the United States and the 7 west of which the most dramatic examples were the first 8 World Trade Center attack which was Egyptian 9 fundamentally and then the terrorist attack in 10 Mogadishu and then the Bojinka plot in the Philippines 11 and then the attack on the U.S. embassies. 12 I was at the State Department by then and 13 that was -- by then it was -- that was very, very clear 14 of a -- at its core bin Laden originated attack with 15 the help from a whole lot of other people including 16 al-Heramain in Kenya against two U.S. embassies. And 17 the secretary of state was completely distraught. 18 was at the State Department in a senior staff meeting 19 with her right after those attacks and I had never seen 20 her upset at that kind of a level. 21 BY MS. ERB: 22 Was al-Heramain Kenya designated at that Q 23 I don't think so. 24 It was kicked out, shut down by the Kenyans Α

and kicked out and then it sued -- it sued to come



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January 12, 2024 

back. And so it was able to engage in law fare to bring itself back in, but at that point, we weren't designating charities.

The whole sanctions thing took a long time to evolve. Back in the 1990s, for example, I was pushing to have major criminal organizations included as candidates for sanctioning and this did not happen. It happened a decade later or more. It happened actually in the first Obama term. So even more than that.

And the reason it didn't happen is we're still digesting and trying to manage the designation of terrorist groups and those who are supporting terrorists. We don't have the ability, time, appetite, capacity yet to get to serious transnational organized crime even though we're a member of the -- even though we're negotiating convention on that and that's a priority. So it's like one step at a time. There's only so much capacity the U.S. government had in the designation process.

Q Would you consider contributions or donations made to resistance fighters in Afghanistan to be of a different quality than contributions or dona -- for -- excuse me -- contributions to charities supporting resistance fighters or other support for



January 12, 2024 

those resistance fighters to contributions directed at terrorist activities?

MR. CARTER: Objection to form.

THE WITNESS: Possibly. I think you have to look at the timing of the contributions, what was going on at the Soviet's left or not, for example, what was the timing. What's happening in the 1980s is different from what's happening in the 1990s. That's why I just went through that lengthy discussion of timetables because I think you have to respect the different periods of time as to what's going on.

But certainly what happened in Afghanistan was very, very bad and that you had the emergence of further -- ever more intolerant regimes in Afghanistan. It was the result of the proliferation of a world view that was basically consistent with Wahhabi, very puritanical Wahhabi and Salafist views that you apply seventh century doctrine which is set forth in the Koran.

It would be like applying to me -- and I'm not a -- I concede that I'm not a doctrinal expert in any of the world's religions. But when I read the old testament, there are all these particular commandments. It's not ten. It's many more than ten, dozens upon dozens. I wouldn't want to live in a society that was



January 12, 2024 

governed by them personally and our country isn't based on that.

So when you get very puritanical notions based on original text, if you're a regionalist or textualist on any religion, you wind up with very puritanical regimes in place which can be quite problematic to the extent that they view everyone who doesn't adhere to them as a heretic, as an unbeliever, as a monkey or something worse because of the doctrinal difference.

And in connection with my work in Libya, and I can find my report to 2001, but my work in Libya when the Islamic state was in Libya and we had to get rid of the Islamic state in Libya, the doctrines that they were espousing the Islamic state were very, very similar. It had very similar implications to what bin Laden was doing earlier which I see as outgross from this idea of sacred terror of political Jihad.

BY MS. ERB:

Q And when you refer to Salafis or Wahhabis, are you putting all strains of those different beliefs in one or do you recognize different strains in Wahhabism and different strains in Salafism?

A Well, the saying is that all Wahhabis are Salafis, but not all Salafis are Wahhabis is the dictum



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that I've heard and read over the years. And for any religion, you're going to have competing points of view as to what's right. How many Protestant sects are there? How many varieties even of Orthodox Catholicism are there? There are different Orthodox churches.

So they're not all the same, but they can come together and influence one another for good or for bad. And the Manichean black and white Muslims are a threat from the west and threaten Christianity and you have to adhere to seventh century Islamic values that was being promulgated out of Saudi Arabia in the nineties was very troublesome to U.S. policymakers.

And we were deeply concerned about its impact. And it was a problem and it played out in the activities of the charities as well as the activities of Al-Qaeda. And it's one of the reasons I believe they intermingled.

- Q Have you heard of the quietist strain of Salafism?
- A Yes.
- Q What can you tell me about your knowledge of their belief system?
- 23 A It's -- it's somewhat limited. I am not --
- 24 O It's what?
- 25 A It is -- my knowledge is somewhat limited.



1 I have not written on the topic. So I try to confine 2 myself largely to things I've studied and written about 3 at length, but generally speaking, it's a kind of ascetic withdrawal from political life and acceptance, 4 5 kind of a mystical acceptance of things. And I would 6 call it a passive -- doing passive good or guietly 7 doing rather than being actively involved in political 8 events is how I would characterize quietism and my 9 understanding of it, but I'm not a scholar of quietism. 10 And I want to shift gears now to -- back to this concept of designation and how that concept has 11 12 evolved. And you -- you agree that Al-Rajhi Bank was 13 never designated by the United States and has still 14 never been designated to this day? 15 Absolutely correct. Α 16 And the United Nations hasn't designated O Al-Rajhi Bank to this day? 17 18 You're correct. I agree with that. Α 19 O And in your report, you mention -- you cite 20 the 2004 joint assessment of Saudi Arabian support to 21 terrorism. Do you recall that document? 22 Α Yes. 23 So if you want to look in your report, it's 24 at paragraph 7.2.14.

What page, please?

Page 89?



Α

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1	Q Page 89, correct. And this is where you
2	reference this 2004 joint assessment. Do you see that?
3	A Yes.
4	MS. ERB: If we can pull up and mark as an
5	exhibit tab 16.
6	(Winer Exhibit JW12 was marked for purposes
7	of identification.)
8	BY MS. ERB:
9	Q And if we can turn to page 20, and I
10	believe it should be page 20 of the PDF as well, but
11	let me know if yeah. And if we can look at the
12	paragraph
13	MR. CARTER: Is there a way he you can
14	give him access to the documents so he can scroll? If
15	you're in Zoom link, you can open the chat. In the
16	chat, you can download. You just click on it and
17	just
18	THE WITNESS: I don't see this paragraph
19	referenced on this page.
20	BY MS. ERB:
21	Q So we are I'm pointing you to the
22	paragraph that begins, in 2002 the FBI formed.
23	A Yes.
24	Q Okay. So the FBI formed the Saudi task
25	force to undertake a comprehensive review of all Saudi



January 12, 2024 

1 | related matters.

A Um-hmm.

Q And shortly after the Saudi task force began its work, the FBI's Washington field office established a Middle East Arabia peninsula squad dedicated to the Saudi target. The squad has since initiated more than 100 investigations on individuals and entities suspected of criminal intelligence related and terrorism related activity. You see that?

A Yes.

Q Are you aware -- were you familiar with the investigations that this unit was or squad was conducting relating to Saudi Arabia?

A Only with -- I was not in government in 2002. The administration had changed and I was not in the Bush administration. So I was aware of newspaper reporting here and there on some of the work of Green Quest which was prior to the restructuring of treasury enforcement elements into homeland security and to the establishment of this task force. And so I had limited windows into what the task force was doing other than as the government issued public reports.

Q Do you have any awareness as to whether the task force may have investigated or looked into Al-Rajhi Bank?



A I'd have very little insight into that.

I'm aware of the representations made by Dennis Lormel in his rebuttal reports regarding that.

Q And regardless of your awareness of any specific investigation, would you agree that the attacks on 9/11 are among the most investigated events in U.S. history from an investigation standpoint?

A It's hard for me to evaluate that because the FBI -- I mean, you could say as a matter of common sense that that might be true, but do I know it? I don't know it which is to say I know what the work was of the 9/11 commission because they published a report outlining the work and how they went about their work and so on.

What the FBI did and didn't do, I see only in shards and snatches based on the particular materials that have been published. Probably one of the best ones and it's very incomplete is the 2004 joint CIA/FBI assessment.

Q And would you agree that even if you can't say it's the most investigated, would you agree that it was a widely investigated event in U.S. history?

A In 2002, the United States devoted enormous resources to try and understand what happened in 9/11 and to try to prevent another 9/11. And there were



January 12, 2024 

additional terrorist attacks that were prevented. The focus in that period of time as near as I could tell as an outsider who had some conversations with people who were in the White House after I left the government and some conversations with people at treasury, but not anyone at the FBI or Justice Department, to the best of my recollection, and not with anyone at the State Department to the best of my recollection.

The focus was -- I may have had conversations with State, but I did not with the FBI or with Justice. My best recollection and understanding was that the focus was pretty much on preventing another 9/11. So you had the Shoe Bomber, for example. You had -- what was his name? Reid was one of them and Pedia (ph) was another. You had a couple of terrorist attacks which were thwarted. So there was enormous attention being given looking forward what can we do to shut this down to prevent it from happening again.

The work that was being done on reconstructing what had already happened was important, but I don't know if it was given as much attention, as comprehensive attention. I want to say I don't know. I don't know as the work to prevent the next attack. What I do know is that the United States focus on this shifted in 2003 to the war on Iraq to some extent and



that had an impact on continuing U.S. efforts to combat global terrorism in some respects. So it's a complicated picture, yeah, in practice.

Q And just as a side note since you mentioned the war on Iraq, you're aware that the intelligence that underpinned that war was also intelligence that proved to be not very reliable, wasn't it?

A It was intelligence that was politicized.

It wasn't so much that the intelligence was unreliable.

It was that the intelligence was politicized which is a different problem.

Q So do you think there was evidence that there were weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and has that been corroborated?

A I actually lectured at the CIA on this issue. I gave courses having to do with this issue. And what happened there is that there was evidence in that case and the evidence came from very reliable sourcing in that particular case, but it was because people were lying to Saddam Hussein about keeping programs afloat because of a vortex of corruption in Iraq.

So as near as I could tell based on my outside assessment and the lecturing that I was undertaking for the Kent School to train CIA analysts



in the OTS, the problem there wasn't that the intelligence was wrong because the intelligence was actually accurate. It was that interpreting it in context didn't consider the corruption factor. And my particular lectures were on the impact of corruption, the impact of corruption in assessing intelligence.

Q So to underscore the importance of corroboration?

A Having enough context and ensuring that you're not politicizing information. And the difference between the Iraq case and this case is I have no reason to believe having looked at all that information that the Al-Rajhi Bank was politicized at all. If it was politicized, it was the other direction because of the need to try and work with the Saudis on the wide range of issues involving a wide range of departments in this period of time to achieve current and future U.S. security interests. And I'm happy to go into that issue at some length because it's quite important.

Q Well, I mean, the focus I'm -- I'm addressing here is the lack of designation of Al-Rajhi Bank following the dedication of enormous resources by the United States, extensive investigations into 9/11 and still today Al-Rajhi has not been designated.



January 12, 2024 

A Yes, and for good reason. But it's not because there wasn't enough evidence to do it. I've been involved in designation processes and I have pushed for the designation of people in certain cases who in my opinion should have been designated and where there was absolutely sufficient objective evidence well beyond including evidence that they participated in terrorist activity who are not designated for policy reasons of various kinds, not one, but multiple different kinds of policy reasons.

This is true in my most recent (inaudible) as special envoy of Libya where I participated in the designation process of people who had carried out terrorist activity. I cannot be more specific. Please let me complete the -- you made an assertion. I'm trying to respond to the assertion.

The timing of the ARB designation process is utterly critical in understanding what happened. The CIA report is the end of May 2003. That's when it comes out. They didn't write it over two weeks. That would have taken time to go through the CIA system. It clearly is a tasking from somebody almost certainly at the NSA, all government kind of tasking to provide options of what to deal with the current problem, not the past problem of ARB, but the perceived current



January 12, 2024 

problem of ARB because sanctions are not about the past. Sanctions are about the present and the future.

And when there is no longer a threat, the sanctions are removed. They are there to deal with the current threat. So in 2003, there's still perception there's a current threat and what happens in 2003? In May 2003, there's the Riyadh terrorist bombing and this joint assessment among other documents says Saudi's cooperation which has not been previously characterized as particularly good. It's characterized as oppositional, problematic is not the exact words, but the gist of it is noncooperative. And there's some FBI statements completely noncooperative.

The decision was made based on my reading of all the evidence we're going to try and see how much cooperation we can get to address to this particular problem. And so they go to the Saudis, Juan Zarate who I've known since -- since the beginning of the Bush administration. And he writes about this in treasury -- treasury wars. He knows what I'm talking about. He was there and he's written about it very clearly.

He goes to the Saudis and the Wiki -- WikiLeaks cables which read like U.S. government cables which I believe to be genuine based on my reading and



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January 12, 2024 169

1 my other knowledge, described exactly what the U.S. 2 government is trying to do which is to go in depth a 3 bank examination with the Saudi government to the ARB. So instead of sanctioning, they want to get more 4 information and address the current threat through a 5 6 different tool. And that's what they're trying to do. 7 They're trying to address the threat through a 8 different tool.

Now, if they use the tool of sanctions against a country where there's a strategic relationship that's important where there are military bases, where there are a variety of other things going on too big to fail, this is a huge bank, the collateral damage to consumers, to depositors, to people who they have loans to, to the correspondent banking system -- remember when I talked earlier about systemic risk to the banking system internationally.

You close a bank like Al-Rajhi Bank down like that with sanctions, you're affecting its correspondent relations everywhere. You're creating pools of money at banks all over the world related to their correspondent accounts. You're affecting the commercial activities of Saudi Arabia. That's going be viewed by Saudi Arabia as an extremely hostile act.

And if you look at the history of U.S.



January 12, 2024 

sanctions against banks, it's done late and it's done frequently. Who does the U.S. government sanction in terms of when it sanctions banks, Iran where there's essentially no commercial activity. It sanctions Iran banks and this is later. It sanctions the Syrian banks. It sanctions the North Korean Bank.

And it's very controversial in the U.S. government just talking to people at the time and the Treasury Department is they were doing it by how controversial it was. North Korean Bank controversial because of the interrelatedness of the banking system and the collateral dam -- and the collateral risks. So that's on the banking side. That's on the defense side.

Now, for the State Department which has got all these diplomatic things going on with the Saudis, also quite problematic. So you have lots of institutional equities that says particularly after the Riyadh attacks when this is being considered let's take a different path. And that's what I believe they did and that's why I believe it. That's the context. The timing is very important.

And the Saudis changed and they wind up saying al-Heramain shot them down everywhere.

Notoriously tied to bin Laden and Al-Qaeda whereas when



I was in the government, they were saying al-Heramain,

not a problem.

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Q So to be clear and going back to where we started, the transactions that you reviewed with Al-Rajhi Bank at the time were with persons, charities, individuals that were not designated or identified by

the United States or the United Nations as --

- A Yes. I said --
- Q -- as targets?
- A Yes. I said list based versus risk based and anti-money laundering policies and programs are supposed to be risk based, not list based.
- Q Your testimony now is that Al-Rajhi Bank -- you agree Al-Rajhi Bank was not designated, correct?
  - A Yes.
  - Q And if I understand your testimony, it's that the United States would maybe -- you don't seem to know this, but maybe would not designate Al-Rajhi Bank even if it had aims against the United States because of political equities?
  - A That's not what I said. What I said was that sanctions are undertaken to address a current threat and they're one of the tools that can be used against a current threat because it's to protect the national security of the United States and that after



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January 12, 2024 172

the Riyadh attacks, the attitude from the Saudi
government changed a lot as reported among other things
in the terrorist -- in the joint assessment. And as a
result of that, there was an effort instead to work
with the Saudi government.

And what the -- what that effort produced
as far as I'm concerned based on what I've seen is a
very changed approach which the Saudi government pulls

very changed approach which the Saudi government pulls back on the charities, has them stop making the contributions overseas without supervision. And you see -- you don't see Al-Rajhi being used for terrorist finance post 2004.

Maybe it's possible they were because I've had limited insight into it because the discovery period is 1998 to 2002. So I can't be sure what happened in 2004 other than the official reports that I've read given the limitations of the discovery period.

Q And just to be clear, no individual member of the Al-Rajhi family has been designated by the United States or the United Nations?

A That's correct.

MR. CARTER: Can we -- I have to run to the rest room. Can we can take a break?

MS. ERB: Yeah, we can take a break. Ten



January 12, 2024 173

1 minutes? 2 MR. CARTER: Yeah. Five, ten minutes, 3 yeah. THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off the record at 2:40. 4 5 (Deposition recessed at 2:40 p.m.) 6 (Deposition resumed at 2:53 p.m.) 7 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: We're back on the record 8 at 2:53. 9 MS. ERB: If we could pull up, please, tab 10 100 and mark that as Exhibit 13, JW13. (Winer Exhibit JW13 was marked for purposes 11 of identification.) 12 13 Let's pull this one down because MS. ERB: 14 this is not the correct document. Rather than go off 15 the record, Sean, I'll just shift gears and we'll come 16 back to this. 17 MR. CARTER: Sure. 18 BY MS. ERB: 19 Mr. Winer, in your report in a few 20 occasions, you state that there are redactions in the 21 documents produced by the bank that made it difficult 22 in certain circumstances for you to analyze the 23 information in those documents. Do you recall --24 Α Yes. 25 Q -- making those comments?



January 12, 2024 174

1	A Yes.
2	Q And you submitted your report on
3	October 4th, 2023, correct?
4	A Yes.
5	Q Are you aware that Al-Rajhi Bank provided
6	fully unredacted versions of the bank's document
7	productions on August 11th, 2023?
8	A I'm not aware of what the date was. I knew
9	it was close to relatively close to as within a
10	couple of months of my report. So it does not your
11	date does not surprise me, but I don't have
12	confirmation of that. I don't know the date.
13	Q And do you recall receiving unredacted
14	translations of the documents that Al-Rajhi Bank
15	produced before you finalized your report?
16	A No.
17	Q And without disclosing any privileged or
18	confidential information as between your discussions
19	with counsel, do you recall ever asking for copies of
20	unredacted documents that you were having trouble
21	reviewing?
22	A I can't address that issue in the way you
23	formulated the question because if I had any such
24	discussions, it would have been I believe in a

privileged setting. So I have to leave it at that, I



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January 12, 2024 175

1	think.
2	Q Could you in the time that you had to
3	prepare your report between August 11th and
4	October 4th, could you have asked for pages or
5	documents that you were having difficulty reviewing
6	because of redactions?
7	A I did not know enough and do not know
8	enough about the discovery process in this case to know
9	when the judges made decisions on discovery in
10	relationship to such things as redacted documents. For
11	the most part, I had very little knowledge about the
12	processes between the parties relating to that.
13	I did become aware in very few days
14	before finalizing my report that the bank very late
15	consistent with the deadline, but I would characterize
16	it as very late produced unredacted versions of some
17	documents. I have no idea which ones. I don't know
18	and I don't have those.
19	MS. ERB: Are we okay with tab 100 now?
20	PATRICK: Yes. It's going to be tab 100
21	underscore 1999.

BAILY: I'm looking to make sure I had that document. I didn't see it in my list currently.

PATRICK: I'm looking in the folder right now and it's in there.



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1 BAILY: Give me one moment to check for it. 2 One moment, counsel. I'll put that up on the screen. 3 MS. ERB: Okay. So if we can scroll to I believe the second page of the PDF to the translation. 4 5 BY MS. ERB: 6 This is -- in our prior conversation, sir, 0 7 you mentioned a charitable contribution to al-Heramain 8 relating to Kosovo. 9 Do you recall discussing that a moment ago? 10 Α Yes. MS. ERB: Okay. If we could make this 11 12 bigger because it's pretty far away from me. 13 MR. CARTER: I'm just going to lodge an 14 objection related to a point we raised yesterday that 15 the translation of this document includes an 16 inaccuracy. 17 MS. ERB: And I was going to correct that, 18 so that's fine. 19 MR. CARTER: Thanks. 20 MS. ERB: Can we make this bigger? I'm 21 I'm quite far from the monitor. 22 BY MS. ERB: 23 So to Sean's point, my understanding is that there's a translation error on this document 24 25 and that the sum reflected is not 18,500 riyals, but



rather than 187,000 rivals which is about 50,000 U.S. 1 2 dollars. So, sir, this is a document from the Saudi based charity foundation of Sulaiman Al-Rajhi; is it 3 not? 4 I don't -- can't tell from the document as 5 Α to whether it's in the foundation. It has Al-Rajhi 6 7 Banking and Investment Corporation's name at the 8 bottom. 9 0 That's a copy of the check actually. 10 It says that it's from Abdullah -- Abdul --11 Abdullah Al-Rajhi. 12 MR. CARTER: I don't think the whole 13 document is visible right now. 14 MS. ERB: Can we scroll down? 15 THE WITNESS: And it's to the director of 16 al-Heramain. BY MS. ERB: 17 18 So the reference to Al-Rajhi Banking and 19 Investment Corp at the bottom there is a photocopy of a 20 check for the first PDF -- page 1 of the PDF -- excuse 21 me -- that may be more visible. I would like to actually stay with this for 22 Α a moment if we could. 23 24 Oh, sorry. Okay. 0 25 Α Because at the very bottom which was not



January 12, 2024 178

1 visible before, it's signed Sheikh Sulaiman Abdulaziz 2 Al-Rajhi. So it appears to be a check written by him 3 to al-Heramain's char -- to the al-Heramain Charitable 4 Foundation. Again, there are two different -- as you 5 just specified, there are two different amounts on the 6 check between the check and the amount on top. 7 0 And --8 Α I can't say on the basis of the document 9 that's in front of me that it was from the SAAR 10 Foundation. It shows that it's from SAAR. SAAR as in signed by the individual? 11 Q Okay. 12 Α Sheikh Sulaiman Abdulaziz Al-Rajhi. 13 Let's go to the original on page 1 of the Q 14 PDF for a moment if we can, please. So this -- and I recognize you don't read Arabic. I'm not asking you to 15 16 here, but looking at this document, do you see that the 17 bottom part of this document is a copy of a check? 18 Yes. Α 19 O Do you agree? 20 Α Yes. 21 MS. ERB: And if we can go back now to the 22 English translation on page 2 of the PDF for the

And in -- this is a letter that is



technician.

BY MS. ERB:

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1	referencing another letter. Do you see that where it
2	says with reference to your kind letter?
3	A Yes.
4	Q And in this letter, it also references a
5	phone call and following the phone call with your
6	eminence. Do you see that?
7	A Yes.
8	Q And the date of this letter is in 1999. I
9	believe that may be April 5th, 1999. It's on the lower
10	left side of the translation. Do you see that?
11	A There there are two different dates that
12	are listed, one of which is $4/6$ or $6/4$ and one is $5/4$
13	which I would read to be the check being April 5th,
14	1999, and the letter being April 6th, 1999.
15	Q I stand corrected. You're right. The date
16	at the top of the letter is April 6. The date of the
17	check is April 5, but the year is 1999, correct?
18	A That's my understanding, yes.
19	Q And this is a letter to Aqeel, correct,
20	Al-Aqeel?
21	A Yes.
22	Q The top of the letter and it's being sent
23	to him in his capacity as director of the al-Heramain
24	Charitable Foundation, correct?
25	A Yes.



1	Q And in 1999, Aqeel was not designated by
2	the United States or the United Nations, correct?
3	A Correct.
4	Q And the al-Heramain Charitable Foundation
5	was not designated by the United States or the United
6	Nations, correct?
7	A That's correct.
8	Q And when you look at this letter and it's
9	referencing a letter from Aqeel followed by a phone
10	call, do you know whether in that letter or and the
11	phone call that followed there were not discussions of
12	the purpose or use of this account for charitable
13	contributions, charitable purposes?
14	A I have no information on that from this
15	document.
16	Q So let's look at the letter where it's
17	relating to the paragraph beginning with reference
18	following the phone call with you, I am pleased to
19	attach a check in support of the relief program or
20	Muslims in Kosovo.
21	A Yes.
22	Q And he's suggesting in this letter that

they open an office in Macedonia and that we would

greatly appreciate it if you would provide us with a

copy of the report that you received so that we would



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January 12, 2024 181

1 be kept abreast of the situation of the Kosovo 2 refugees. 3 Α Yes. Is there anything in this letter on the 4 5 face of this letter that suggests that this 6 contribution was intended for terrorist purposes? 7 Α No. 8 0 Thank you. 9 Mr. Winer, coming back to the quality of 10 intelligence and reporting. Am I correct that you've been a proponent or endorser, if you will, of the 11 Steele dossier? 12 13 I think that's a simplification and I think 14 that's a simplification. I wouldn't characterize it 15 that way, no. 16 How would you characterize it, sir? Q I came to work with Chris Steele in 17 Α Sure. 18 the private sector after I left the State Department, 19 some years after I left the State Department before I 20 reentered the State Department. When I reentered the 21 State Department, soon after I reentered the State 22 Department in 2013, Mr. Steele said that he was 23 collecting information on Russia and Ukraine. Would 24 the State Department be interested? 25 I said this is not my current lane.



January 12, 2024 

interested in Russia in connection with Russia's activities in Iraq and Libya, but not other than that particularly. But I'm happy to share it with Victoria Nuland who was the assistant secretary of state for European affairs and see if she's interested in receiving the material or not. I gave her three reports that he provided and she said this is very -- this is useful, highly useful information. I am interested in receiving these reports.

Over the next couple of years, I provided somewhere between a hundred and 120 reports. I don't remember the exact number, but it was more than a hundred to her from him. On at least two occasions after the initial request that I do this, I said do you still want me to do these. I had a lot of other things to do. It was -- required extra time from me to act as the intermediary here and she said, yes, please continue it.

So I provided those reports to her which she said were valuable and helpful to her and which she shared with others in the department and occasionally told me to share with others working for her. And she said she found them again useful and largely correct is my memory of it.

In September of 2016, he came to me with a



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report which for the first time related to domestic -a domestic political person. In this case, Donald Trump and his campaign and said that he had this troubling information about Russian efforts to influence the U.S. elections and did I want to give it to the State Department or provide the information. did not get -- retain a copy of the dossier. I was shown the dossier as -- in its state as it was in September. I informed Victoria Nuland about the

existence of this document and I said do you want to receive the document or not. She said get me the information. I gave her a two-page distillation of core elements of it and she told me and I agreed with her that it was important that the information be provided to the FBI, that we were in no position to assess it, that the FBI should assess it and she would arrange for that. It was my understanding that she then arranged for that and the information was communicated directly to the FBI.

Did you ever take a view on the credibility 0 of the Steele report and the intelligence?

In part only and in part not. that I took was that I had been told by the most knowledgeable person in the Department of State, a



January 12, 2024 

person who read information on Russian intelligence on a daily basis that the reports were -- that I provided to her from him over the previous couple of years which had nothing to do with the American politics had been very -- had been highly useful to her.

And when I had asked her a couple of times if she wanted me to continue or to stop, she had encouraged me to continue them. I also asked her if she wanted me to provide her the substance of what was in the Steele dossier in the short version I had to assist her in evaluating it and she said what she said to the FBI.

My assessment as I wrote in the Washington

Post is that I had no basis for discounting it. Some

of the information in it was information which was

consistent with what I'd seen elsewhere and other

information I was in no position to evaluate but needed

to be evaluated. And that was essentially what I said

about the Steele dossier.

- Q Did you ever make any attempt to the corroborate any points in the Steele dossier before --
  - A Only the ones --
  - Q -- going public with it?
- A I didn't go public with it.
  - Q Well, going public with your views on it in



January 12, 2024 

the Washington Post.

A I was -- I was being pushed by an effort by a series of attacks on me by people associated with then President Trump and I was about to be -- I was told that I was going to be subpoenaed by the house intelligence committee, Devin Nunes who later went to work for Trump Social, I think, Mr. Trump's social media company.

And so I was intimately involved with the president and his -- the then president and his inner circle and that they were going after me. I was told essentially I was going to be lit up, gone after, et cetera, et cetera. So I made the decision on my own to publish an op-ed saying Devin Nunes is going after me. Here's what happened. And I reported -- wrote in the Washington Post the opinion piece which they put the title on Devin Nunes is investigating me here at the truth which I described what happened and said it needed to be reviewed carefully.

Q And did you -- let's be clear. There are -- there are assertions in the Steele dossier that are quite solacious in their content, right? And did you find that Christopher Steele was somebody you could trust, rely on as a source of intelligence?

MR. CARTER: Objection.



January 12, 2024 

THE WITNESS: I have used him as an attorney on behalf of a variety of clients between 2017 and 2022 in which information provided ahead of events was borne out by events. I can't tell you who the clients are, but I am happy to provide you an example.

In the summer of 2021, he provided me information that various oligarchs were moving their assets out of Cyprus where they've been headquartered into Kaliningrad which is a free zone that's opaque. It's completely opaque. They don't disclose beneficial ownership at all.

And the assessment associated with the intelligence, that was the raw intelligence and the facts which are proven by business records to be accurate based on business records, the assessment is it looks to me like they've all gotten the word get out of the west in essence. That wasn't in the formal intelligence report. That was a conversation about it rather than something in the actual report.

Of course what happened over the fall of late 2021 is the Ukraine situation intensified and the invasion took place a few months later consistent with the information that had been provided to me earlier. The information that I had -- I have received from him on behalf of clients over the years has generally



January 12, 2024 187

speaking been very good and has been reliably good, but 1 2 it's raw intelligence. It's -- it has its limits which 3 is why in some cases I have asked for and gotten business -- business records in addition as I would 4 5 hope that any government agency working with material 6 from an outside source would then try to do to go 7 further with it. 8 In the case of the Steele dossier, the

In the case of the Steele dossier, the essence of my op-ed, the opinion piece, the absolute essence was this needed to be looked at. You can't be someone who receives information about a foreign government's efforts to interfere with U.S. elections and do nothing. That would be reckless, irresponsible and wrong.

15 BY MS. ERB:

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Q And today you're aware that the intelligence in this Steele dossier has been questioned and criticized?

A Of course it's been questioned and criticized. It was very threatening to and damaging to Donald Trump. Donald Trump, people in his party associated with him, the MAGA wing of the Republican party, right wing media that is not reliable at all have all taken the same view as did John Durham in going after various people associated with Mr. Steele



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January 12, 2024 188

1 and those prosecutions of course failed.

So sure it got politicized and it got heavily politicized because of its partisan nature, but my role was to fulfill an obligation to make sure that that information got properly evaluated.

Q And today do you have a view on the reliability of the information or data points contained in the Steele dossier?

A Only a partial view.

Q What is that partial view?

11 A Elements of it have been corroborated.

12 | Elements -- other elements have not been corroborated.

In a couple of cases that I'm aware of, one that I can

14 | think of in particular, there's an error and the error

15 goes to he -- one of his sources referred to a

16 | consulate, Russian consulate being in Miami, Florida.

17 It wasn't in Miami, Florida. It was in St. Petersburg,

18 | Florida, not Miami.

And the consulate, honorary consulate for St. Petersburg had a relationship with the city of St. Petersburg at the time that Putin was in St. Petersburg and there were old Putin ties between the honorary consul and the city of St. Petersburg and Putin. So that was what was in back of that.

I know that that is -- and that's the kind



January 12, 2024 

of mistake that one will see in an intelligence report. It's not a fundamental error, but it's there. There was another one, the second one I can think of which is that there was a report of a meeting that one of the sources had between Carter Paige and Igor Sechin who was a -- at various times been a highly ranked Russian official or a highly ranked Russian oligarch of state enterprises and it wasn't with Sechin. It was with a deputy of Sechin. And that may have been puffing on Carter Paige's part. I don't know the basis.

But when I was interviewed by the senate intelligence committee on these issues, I told them I did not know the sources and was in no position to try and find the sources. In the period of time I was in the government, my work at that time was of tremendous intensity on Libya. I was trying to keep the Libya peace process from falling apart in getting the Libyan factions together to promote a unified security force and to get a unified economic bank and oil activity. And almost all of my time in work was spent on that. I didn't have time for much else.

Q And the Steele dossier contains very graphic and solacious allegations about Donald Trump's activities with prostitutes in Moscow. Do you know whether such extraordinary allegations were ever



January 12, 2024 

corroborated and did you ever make any attempt to corroborate those types of stories before taking the positions you've taken with respect to the Steele report -- excuse me -- the Steele dossier?

MR. CARTER: Objection.

THE WITNESS: The position that I took was that it needed to be investigated by agencies in the position to investigate it. That was the position that I took. And then I was not aware of proofs of major errors. I know that Jane Mayer and the New Yorker wrote an article which described a similar incident, not identical, but similar in a Las Vegas hotel that took place involving the people -- some of the same people who were involved in the hotel that Trump was said to be at in connection with the solacious activities in Moscow.

The same cast of characters in Vegas and that that Vegas hotel club was shut down for having allowed sexually improper activities of the kind described in the dossier to take place. And in the Jane Mayer story -- and I know Jane quite well. I went to school with her. So I've known her for almost half a century.

I was the stringer for Time in 1980 -- '75 and she was the stringer in '76. So we go way back.



January 12, 2024 191

1	She's an extremely careful reporter. And so she
2	reported that there was a predecessor incident in Las
3	Vegas. Is that dispositive, no. Is it an interesting
4	data point, it's an interesting data point. It's not
5	one I came up with or knew or was in a position to
6	investigate.
7	BY MS. ERB:
8	Q Thank you.
9	I have one point I wanted to just confirm
10	was a typo in your report and we're switching gears
11	entirely here. If we can go to section 8.84 which is
12	on page 109.
13	MS. ERB: And if we can bring up tab 78 and
14	mark it as Exhibit JW14.
15	(Winer Exhibit JW14 was marked for purposes
16	of identification.)
17	BY MS. ERB:
18	Q So in 8.8.4.1 on page 109, you are quoting
19	errata from the deposition of Mr. Galloway who was
20	deposed by plaintiffs in this case. And the part of
21	the quote I'm focusing on is the second sentence
22	beginning the requirement that charity accounts at
23	banks in Saudi Arabia be used to support charitable
24	activities was not in effect before May 23rd, 2003. If



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we can look at the actual errata.

1	A Um-hmm. It should be corrected to whatever
2	the actual errata says of course.
3	Q Okay. So
4	A I don't I don't have that in front of
5	me.
6	Q Okay. That's fine if we agree that it can
7	be corrected
8	A It absolutely should be corrected to
9	whatever the actual statement says of course.
10	MS. ERB: Okay. So what I'd like to do if
11	it's okay is we can take a break. I want to I think
12	we're getting close. I may have a few last questions.
13	So if we can take ten minutes, please. We can go off
14	the record.
15	MR. CARTER: Sure.
16	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Off the record at 3:23.
17	(Deposition recessed at 3:23 p.m.)
18	(Deposition resumed at 3:35 p.m.)
19	THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Back on the record at
20	3:35.
21	MS. ERB: Mr. Winer, thank you very much
22	for your time today. We have no more questions.
23	MR. CARTER: And I have no questions today.
24	And with that, we will close the deposition. The
25	witness reserves the right to read and sign.



January 12, 2024 



January 12, 2024 194

1						
2	CERTIFICATE OF DEPONENT					
3	I hereby certify that I have read and					
4	examined the foregoing transcript, and the same is a					
5	true and accurate record of the testimony given by me.					
6						
7	Any additions or corrections that I feel					
8	are necessary will be made on the Errata Sheet.					
9						
10						
11	·					
12	Jonathan M. Winer					
13						
14						
15						
16	Date					
17						
18	(If needed, make additional copies of the Errata Sheet					
19	on the next page or use a blank piece of paper.)					
20						
21						
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23						
24						
25						



January 12, 2024

1			ERRA	TA SHEET	7			
2	Case: In	Re: Terr	orist	Attacks	on Se	eptember	11,	2001
3	Witness:	Jonathan :	M. Win	er		Date:	01/1	2/2024
4	PAGE/LINE	S	HOULD	READ		REASON	FOR	CHANGE
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January 12, 2024

1	CERTIFICATE OF SHORTHAND REPORTER - NOTARY PUBLIC
2	I, Steven Poulakos, registered
3	Professional Reporter, the officer before whom the
4	foregoing proceedings were taken, do hereby certify
5	that the foregoing transcript is a true and correct
6	record of the proceedings; that said proceedings were
7	taken by me stenographically and thereafter reduced to
8	typewriting under my supervision; and that I am neither
9	counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the
10	parties to this case and have no interest, financial or
11	otherwise, in its outcome.
12	IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my
13	hand and affixed my notarial seal this 12th day of
14	January 2024.
15	My commission expires:
16	May 31, 2024
17	
18	
19	
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21	
22	NOTARY PUBLIC IN AND FOR
23	THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
24	



25

January 12, 2024

Index: 00307..1990s

In re: Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001

	10746455 Jo	23:11,25	73:7,9	162
Exhibits	nathan.M.	00308	11th	32:1
	Winer.		8:5 14:7	17
10746455 Jo	EXHIBIT8	23:16	8:5 14:7 91:25	105:3,10,
	7:17		92:3	24
nathan.M.	93:19,20	1	109:19	24
Winer.	10746455 Jo		125:14	170
EXHIBIT1		1	174:7	48:7
7:8 16:10	nathan.M.	16:7		17th
10746455 Jo	Winer.	177:20	175:3	150:3
nathan.M.	EXHIBIT9	177:20	12	130:3
Winer.	7:18		114:11	18,500
EXHIBIT2	99:12,15	1.2.7	120	176:25
7:9 22:22	10746455 Jo	30:17,22	182:11	187,000
10746455 Jo	nathan.M.	10	107:11	177:1
nathan.M.	Winer.	76:15,16,	1200	
matnan.m. Winer.	EXHIBIT10	17 111:24	8:8	19
Winer. EXHIBIT3	7:19		128	53:9
7:10	103:19,20	10,000	29:25	95:15
7:10 52:18	10746455 Jo	61:5	36:20	191
52:18	nathan.M.	100	37:22	38:6 39:8
10746455 Jo	Winer.	73:13		
nathan.M.		162:7	12:28	1960s
Winer.	EXHIBIT11	173:10	112:3,4	155:3
EXHIBIT4	112:10	175:19,20	12:33	1970s
7:12	10746455 Jo		112:5,7	148:8
65:23	nathan.M.	103		
10746455 Jo	Winer.	82:19	12:57	1979
nathan.M.	EXHIBIT12	104	128:1,2	153:1
Winer.	7:21	81:9,13	12:58	1980
EXHIBIT5	161:6	82:19	128:3,5	153:16
76:1	10746455 Jo		-	190:24
10:T	nathan.M.	109	12th	
10746455 Jo	Winer.	109:5,11	8:7	1980s
nathan.M.	EXHIBIT13	191:12,18	13	95:15
Winer.		1093	173:10	154:4
EXHIBIT6	173:10	84:12		157:7
7:15	10746455 Jo		13th	1985
83:21	nathan.M.	11	90:15	153:21
10746455 Jo	Winer.	67:6	146	1000
nathan.M.	EXHIBIT14	112:10	125:23	1989
Miner.	7:23	11.4		153:16
	191:14,15	36:23	111 . 24	1990
			111:24	100:21
EXHIBIT7		11:16	16	
7:16	•	E -		10000
	0	73:5,6	161:5	1990s
7:16	0	73:5,6 <b>11:29</b>		1990s 67:3,23 95:11,16



NATHAN M. V re: Terrorist At	tacks on Septem	ber 11, 2001		January 12, 20 Index: 19912:
96:25	1998	200	163:23	2020
99:3	53:9,21	43:11	172:15	101:6
116:5,18	54:10	200 000	2002	105:15,24
125:11	59:4	200,000	2003	116:16
126:20	172:15	80:9	48:25	2021
127:2	1000	200-page	49:1,2,12	
129:13	1999	26:19	50:1,5	15:16,20
130:1	22:11	2000	67:17	77:19
139:12	108:19	31:3	74:13	80:15,20
142:8	175:21	32:14	145:4	186:6,21
155:5	179:8,9,	33:10	146:17	2022
156:5	14,17	37:22	164:25	186:3
157:8	180:1	43:21	167:19	2023
0.01	19th	43:21	168:5,6,7	17:1
991	8:8	2001	191:24	174:3,7
51:25	1:04	8:5 14:7	2004	1/4.5,7
68:9	132:10,11	68:6,8	62:23	2024
992	132:10,11	77:9	129:10	8:7
154:7	1:42	81:21	138:22	20th
994	133:2,4	91:25	145:4,5	48:2
22:11		92:3	146:18	
22:11	2	103:13	160:20	21
995	2	108:23	161:2	105:4,11
106:12		109:18,	163:18	218
114:5	2	19,25	172:12,16	18:16
116:20	19:4	110:4,11,	2006	
122:8	23:10	15		22
123:5	93:23	112:17,20	62:25	99:25
124:1	101:14	113:5	2008	100:8
996	178:22	116:19	63:1 68:7	220-page
103:11	2,000	125:14	2013	80:5
105:25	47:8	158:12	181:22	
106:11,		2002		228
17,21,22	2-2271	23:3,8	2014	19:5
107:2,7	134:3	26:25	74:14	230
107.2,7	2.93	36:24	2016	45:15
110:19	23:3	37:8	182:25	023
130:6		42:10		23rd
154:8,12	20	53:10,21	2017	191:24
154:0,12	23:4	54:10	75:2,10,	26
997	26:10	59:4 65:4	15 186:2	14:20
45:25	46:17		2018	15:3
46:17	52:12	67:6	104:4	27th
48:2 49:2	104:11	68:23	105:16	
50:6,24	114:24	89:14		37:8 75:2
128:8	148:13	161:22	2019	81:21
	161:9,10	162:15	104:3	2:40



173:4,5	4/6	106:20	6th	190:25
2:53	179:12	5.4	89:14	78
173:6,8	40	107:6	179:14	191:13
	93:5,6,11	5/4		
3	95:2	179:12	7	8
	96:16	50,000		
3	97:21,23 98:24	61:5	7.1	8
23:16	99:6,24	177:1	79:23	62:25
30:23	100:7		7.15.1	
93:3	101:10	53	69:17,18	8.8.4.1
100:23	102:1,2,4	75:25	70:6	191:18
101:5	103:2,4	54	- 4-	8.84
104:23	104:17	27:23	7.17	191:11
105:2	105:3,10	56	73:12,13,	83
	106:23	90:14,24	20	111:20
30	107:2,7		7.18	112:10
22:25	109:6,14	5th	74:12	112:10
23:2,7	112:22	179:9,13	7.2.14	840
132:4,5	113:22		160:24	84:13
30,000	124:2	6		89
61:6,8	400		7.24	153:17
35	<b>400-page</b> 80:6		73:14	154:6
26:10	80:6	6	81:8,12	160:25
93:18	403	65:22	82:4	161:1
	83:23	179:16	85:3,11	
38	42	6.10.3.11	7.3.14	
88:22,23	93:2,4	45:21	29:19,22	9
3:23		6.11.4	36:17,18	
192:16,17	43	37:3	70	9
3:35	109:6		36:24	125:15
192:18,20	48	6.11.4.5	37:5	9.31
193:2,3	93:4	37:19		125:15
100.210	4th	6.8.3	71	
	17:1	45:4	37:19	9.32
4	174:3	6.82	38:7	125:20,24
	175:4	27:22,24	72	9.57.1
4	1,5,4		99:10	31:25
52:23		6/4	103:19	9/11
91:13,16	5	179:12	72	14:5 30:1
96:16		66	73	36:20
107:7	5	45:22	99:14	55:17,19,
4.10.9	76:1 93:1	46:4	75	20 57:6,
88:22	179:17		190:24	11,25
00.22		68	76	58:6,10



January 12, 2024 Index: 9/11/2001..activities

	itaono on ocpioni	111dGX: 0/11/2001:.dottvitte5			
59:7	96	ability	9,20	acknowledge	
62:22	68:10	54:5	55:23	22:3	
63:4,9	93:6	78:14	56:16,17,	40:22	
73:17,23	98	156:14	25 90:17	152:15	
74:2,5,	68:10	abreast	92:8,11	acknowledge	
13,17,19,	128:8	181:1	125:17,24	d	
23 75:4			129:20,22	121:13	
77:7 78:2	99	absence	131:6		
89:13	69:18	135:2	180:12	acronym	
92:8,17	128:8	absent	accountancy	34:20	
109:1,12	9:28	24:9	19:25	35:22	
110:9,11,	8:8			36:6,8	
18 121:24		absolute	accountant	act	
126:24	9:40	50:10	19:23	141:8	
128:7	18:8,9	187:9	accounting	169:24	
129:8	9:55	absolutely	139:2	182:16	
131:1,21,	18:10,12	54:9			
24 143:5		117:15	accounts	action	
145:12		118:1	51:21	67:8	
163:6,12,	A	137:6	54:3,12,	68:23	
24,25		160:15	16,23	94:9	
164:13	a.m.	167:6	56:9	112:14	
166:24	18:9,10	192:8	88:13	129:2	
9/11/2001	73:6,7	absorb	89:8	131:18,	
14:7	AA	59:17	91:7,11,	22,24	
	72:7	59:17	12 92:1,	140:22	
90	12.1	absorbed	18 131:10	142:11	
29:20,22	ABC	28:23,24	144:8	actions	
36:17	154:14	accept	169:22 191:22	35:15	
68:10	Abdul	91:4	191:22	58:10	
9054	177:10		accurate	122:10	
53:6		acceptance	39:9,23	active	
0.1	Abdulaziz	160:4,5	42:2,24	111:6	
91	30:6,8,19	access	51:22	147:11	
68:9	32:21	161:14	64:25		
911	146:13,16		95:1,3	actively	
108:18	147:7	accommodati	120:4	160:7	
92	148:12	on	121:16	activities	
153:17	178:1,12	86:7	143:6	33:17	
	Abdullah	accordance	166:3	34:4,14	
93	85:18	10:11	186:15	35:7,9	
83:20	146:5,11,	account	achieve	49:23	
84:2	12	42:15	166:17	51:9	
93s	177:10,11	51:25		53:18	
84:22	Abdulrhman	52:3,4	achievement	56:12	
	9:15	52:3,4	67:18	65:7,9	
	9.13	55.5,0,0,		•	



### January 12, 2024 Index: activity..Aisha In re: Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001

in re: Terrorist A	itacks on Septem	ber 11, 2001	inc	iex: activityAisna
66:8	64:15	119:24	affiliated	108:9
67:21	112:23	adhere	40:10	110:8,15
73:17	added	158:8	Afghan	112:18
80:4	80:11	159:10	72:9	133:15,20
91:23	81:2	159:10	153:11,12	134:17,24
110:22	81:2	adhered	155:11,12	136:23
137:11,23	addition	139:17	Afghanistan	137:22
138:2,3	18:19	adherence	153:11,	143:19
157:2	22:17	128:14	15,18	146:22,25
159:15	67:19		154:13,16	147:3
169:23	68:13	administrat	156:22	149:11,
182:2	187:4	ion	157:12,14	13,17
189:24	additional	57:15,22,	afloat	160:12,18
190:16,19	41:3,4	24	165:21	163:5,20,
191:24	62:5	162:15,16		21 171:14
activity	164:1	168:19	agencies	178:19
53:9,21,		adopt	25:22	192:6
23 54:11,	address	104:19	116:13	agreed
17,22	11:13		129:6	86:22
56:11	64:24	adopted	190:7	128:10
64:10	65:15	36:6 97:7	agency	183:14
68:14,15	82:20	98:23	46:18	
71:7	83:7 90:5	113:22	187:5	agreement
96:21,22	92:12	advice		117:9
131:13	102:22	20:6	agree	ahead
133:17	110:13,16	114:11	13:2 18:2	73:22
138:9,12,	113:1	117:21,23	20:25	101:20
14 143:8	115:10	advise	24:7 28:7 29:13	142:3
151:13	127:11	118:8	34:24	186:3
162:9	140:15		35:22	2 777/
167:8,14	144:2	advising	36:13,14	<b>AHM</b>
170:4	168:16	123:21,22	44:2,9,	142:21
189:19	169:5,7	affairs	12,19	ahm's
	171:22	79:23	45:10	148:1
actors	174:22	80:1	46:15	aid
94:21	addressed	145:23,24	50:4	145:15
acts	64:17	182:5	54:23	
107:24	98:19	offorti	58:1	aims
actual	addresses	affecting 169:19,22	66:11,15	133:17
117:17	77:24	103:13,44	87:8,17	142:17
139:22		affidavit	92:5	171:19
186:19	addressing	34:16	98:22	airplanes
191:25	11:20	143:16	100:6	108:2
192:2,9	67:24	affidavits	102:4,25	Nicho
	166:22	140:21	105:7,9	Aisha
add	adequately	_ 1 \ , 2 _ 1	106:4	9:22 13:8
	_ <del>-</del>			15:12



Akrouk	al-	39:6	43:18	178:6
8:22	heramain's	40:9,23	Al-rajhis	amounts
NI sessi	178:3	45:18,19	49:19	131:12
<b>Al-aqeel</b> 62:6,16,	Al-jabbaar	46:7,25	49:19	139:7
	138:24	47:20,21,	al-thumairy	154:17
18,20	138:24	23 48:5,	73:16	178:5
179:20	al-jarrah	16 49:5,	75:3	1/0:5
al-bayoumi	77:5	13,15,23	al-towayan	analysis
73:16,21	79:16	51:5,21,	81:16	26:4 28:2
74:14,20,	Al-qaeda	24 54:12,	82:2 85:6	40:3
22 75:9,	23:18	16 56:18		analyst
19 77:5,	24:23	58:24	alert	29:10
24 79:15	37:11	60:4	11:22	29.10
81:17,25	62:8,10	72:6,7,22	80:13	analysts
-1 barrarimi I	·	82:3,8	aligned	165:25
al-bayoumi'	66:9 67:1	83:14	153:20	analyze
5 74 1	69:23	85:6,10	133.20	173:22
74:1	70:24	86:13,14	allegations	1/3:22
al-fadha	71:2,3,	87:5	140:16	analyzing
72:22,23	12,15,24	88:12,19	189:23,25	51:17
. 1 1	72:5,9	89:8,23	alleged	and/or
al-heramain	91:17	91:8,11	73:16	28:4
12:19,20	138:19	92:7,14	73:10	91:24
55:4,15	145:18	106:4	allegedly	91:24
56:6,8,9	152:6,13		74:21	anecdotal
58:3	159:16	113:14,15	81:24	37:16
59:20	170:25	129:2	-114	39:16
60:18	Al-qaeda's	135:4	allies	40:21
62:9,14,	89:2	140:8,12	66:6	41:12
24 65:4,5	07.2	142:14,24	allowed	42:6
66:7,13,	Al-ra	144:10	53:16	
23 67:3	49:4	146:13	142:19,20	annotated
68:24	Al-rajhi	147:7	190:19	17:10
138:20	8:15,17,	148:13		annotations
141:2,16	18,20,22	160:12,17	allowing	17:19
144:20	9:15 10:9	162:25	94:12	
145:8,17,	13:20,22,	166:13,	Almussaed	anonymized
19,23		22,25	9:15	21:13
149:13,21	23,24,25	169:18		anonymous
155:16,22	14:1	171:5,13,	amended	135:10,
170:24	30:6,9,19	14,18	106:23	11,18,25
171:1	31:10	172:11,20	American	136:1
176:7	32:12,16,	174:5,14	123:1,3	137:5,13,
177:16	17,21	177:3,6,	184:4	15 140:14
178:3	36:13,19	11,18		
179:23	37:22	178:2,12	amount	anonymously
180:4	38:1,15,		43:4	136:23
100.4	17,23	Al-rajhi's	47:15	

# In re: Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001

answering	19:2,4	152:3	66:6	52:21
61:4	19:2,4	154:19	113:15	
01:4	appetite	134.19	118:17	arbitrage
answers	156:14	Arabia	123:4	98:14
115:8	apples	31:10,20	138:21	area
anti	79:4	32:3,25	160:20	98:11
106:15		33:10,18		101:21
	applicable	34:9	Arabic	111:3
anti-female	115:21	35:17	49:22	114:10
154:10	application	55:9,12	119:21,	115:1
anti-money	85:17	56:12,17	22,23	124:17
96:17	96:14,19	57:2	120:7	130:16
106:15	115:4	58:5,12	122:7	
127:4	121:6,12,	78:15,21	123:9	areas
128:9,14,	23	85:7	126:15	56:10
18 139:25		92:15,21	178:15	67:16
171:11	applied	103:24	ARB	98:12
	127:13	104:3	33:19	136:4
anti-	154:16,17	105:3,10	35:16	151:5
western	apply	106:14,19	56:11	153:19
154:11	123:13	107:22	60:11	arrange
anymore	157:17	113:21	62:19	183:18
12:8	ann leein a	117:21	85:8	
1	applying	118:8	88:14	arranged
apologies	157:20	122:1	140:9,10,	183:19
12:13	approach	126:20,23	11 149:12	arrested
73:4	119:12	127:3,5,	167:17,25	24:23
apologize	124:12	8,15	168:1	omaonia
11:15	172:8	128:16,20	169:3	arsenic 98:10
apparent	appropriate	129:11,23		98:10
32:12	ly	142:8	ARB's	article
32:12	127:13	143:11,	25:14,24	190:11
apparently	127:13	12,14	149:7	articulate
39:11	approved	144:24,25	ARB-	136:16
45:7 73:3	86:22	145:12,16	00000836	141:24
129:17	April	146:19	84:13	141.24
appears	179:9,13,	148:2		articulated
80:3	14,16,17	150:13	ARB-	62:12
83:13		153:3	00040369	115:5
92:6	Aqeel	159:11	84:10	137:18
105:14	62:6,16,	162:5,13	ARB-39558	139:18
178:2	18,20	169:23,24	89:19	140:20
1/0.2	179:19	191:23		ascetic
appendices	180:1,9	Arabia's	ARB-40369	160:4
25:2	Arab	105:18	83:23	100.4
appendix	124:13	T02:T0	84:6	Assembly
~bbenarv	14.13	Arabian	ARB-843	10:2



## In re: Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001

III IC. ICIIOIISI A	llacks on Septem	061 11, 2001	mac	x. assertionback
12:22	118:25	attacks	139:3	190:9
16:4	184:11	8:5 14:6	auditor	awareness
assertion	assistance	73:23	119:9	140:25
167:15,16	69:6	74:2,18	123:18,24	162:23
	74:23	91:24	124:7	163:4
assertions	78:2	109:12	auditors	awful
185:21	119:25	110:18	118:22	88:7
assess	assistant	155:6,19		00:7
50:21	77:3	163:6	audits	
51:1,13,	182:4	164:1,16	148:22	В
18 79:14	102:4	170:19	149:3	
88:4	assisted	172:1	August	B-L-O-C-K
122:3	73:21	185:3	23:3,8	91:4
152:17	assisting	attempt	174:7	
183:17	35:19	184:20	175:3	Baach
assessing		190:1		9:23,24
166:6	association	a = = a = d	author	13:8
100.0	10:2	attend	85:14	back
assessment	34:18	40:14	authorities	18:11
40:2	association	attention	141:19	24:21
88:19	s	67:6		36:16
97:25	137:15	73:12	authority	50:25
100:15	137.13	76:15	113:16	67:22
102:15	assume	144:3	123:5	71:20
104:4	24:20	164:17,	141:7	72:18
129:9	assumption	21,22	aware	73:8
160:20	130:4	attitude	14:20	78:10,17,
161:2		172:1	31:21	21 83:4,
163:19	assumptions	1/2.1	39:18	11 88:8
165:24	28:13	attorney	45:17	96:12
168:8	70:22	114:9,16,	55:19	97:5
172:3	assure	22 115:18	57:4 65:2	100:19
184:13	120:3	186:2	75:16	101:14,25
186:12,15	agtonichina	attorneys	76:7	105:25
assessments	astonishing 54:25	77:3 78:7	79:5,6	110:3
48:12	34:43	120:19	82:7	111:18
124:6	attach		120:17	112:6
	180:19	attractive	134:15,16	113:6
asset	attack	49:24	136:1	116:18
74:20,22	77:7 78:6	51:10	162:11,16	128:4
77:25	155:8,9,	audit	163:2	129:12
87:24	11,14	118:17,	165:5	131:14
assets	164:23	19,21	174:5,8	133:3
186:8		119:10	175:13	143:19
	attacking		187:16	148:8
assist	153:7	auditing	188:13	150:5,9
77:6 78:5		119:10		, .



#### January 12, 2024 Index: background..bear JONATHAN M. WINER In re: Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001

iii ie. Teliolisi Alla	acks on Septem	Dei 11, 2001	muex.	backgroundbear
156:1,2,5	54:12,13,	175:14	117:6,10,	165:23
160:10	16,25	189:19	12,21	168:14,25
171:3	55:23	1 1 1	119:6	171:10,12
172:9	56:1,2,	bank's	124:9,14,	172:7
1	13,18	51:9	19,24	177:3
178:21	58:19,24	106:4	129:22	186:15
181:9	59:1	113:15	169:21	_ ,
188:24	60:4,20,	122:3	170:1,3,	Basel
190:25	23 62:17	123:19	5,6	95:25
192:19	82:3,8	174:6	191:23	basements
	83:14	banker		153:5
background	86:13,14,	20:13,14	banks'	h
15:6	22 87:5,9	h a m la d m m	95:18	bases
backing	88:13	banking	barriers	169:12
30:13	89:9,23	13:25	98:17	basic
	91:8,11	60:25	138:5	96:17
bad	92:7,10,	95:23		hagigall
157:13	14 95:3,	96:20	bars	basically
159:8	7,14 96:2	98:7,13,	148:5,6	54:5
Baily	97:19	21 114:3,	base	75:18
11:17,19	113:9,14,	4,9,12,	140:2	148:6
12:1,2,6	20 114:8	19,22		150:4
83:25	115:13	115:2,22	based	157:16
84:3,7,	117:1,23	116:12,	21:4 26:9	basis
12,21	118:17,	24,25	39:24	14:23
175:22	20,24,25	117:25	42:25	42:16
176:1	119:5,14,	118:6,13	43:15	69:24
	17 123:7,	119:4	47:22	71:25
bank	19,22	120:7,11	53:17	92:19
8:15,17,	124:3,13	121:14	62:12	96:24
19,21,22,	129:2,25	122:2	76:18,24	116:1,2,
24 9:15	131:17,	123:2,16	77:1	22 139:20
10:9	18,19	130:8,11	86:12,21	178:8
13:20,21,	142:6,14,	131:16	88:15,17	184:2,14
22,23,24,	23,25	169:15,17	97:10,11	189:10
25 14:1,2	144:7,10,	170:11,13	115:20	Dahas
19:19,20		177:7,18	118:4,24	Bates
20:4,9,	11,21	banks	122:8,9,	84:6,8
10,11	149:1	20:6,7	13 123:15	Bayoumi
38:15	160:12,17	49:18	125:9	78:20
45:18	162:25 166:13,23	90:5	126:18	79:6
48:18	· ·	92:1,15	128:18,23	87:23
49:6,23,	169:3,13,	94:21	129:15	BCCI
24 50:4	18 170:6,	95:9,12,	140:1,2	95:14
51:6,10,	10 171:5,	21,22	141:8	
21,24	13,14,18	114:15	158:1,4	bear
52:10	173:21	115:13	163:16	86:8 87:9
	174:5,14			
1				



NATHAN M. V re: Terrorist At	tacks on Septem	ber 11, 2001		January 12, 20 Index: beganBu
104:20	14:11	158:16	155:10	69:10
egan	beneficial	170:25	bold	138:25
67:2,13	101:9,12,	bit	86:2	145:1,3
153:20	15 186:10	13:12		break
162:4		37:18	Bomber	69:16
	beneficiary		164:13	73:2,3
egin	142:16	bite	bombing	111:25
11:2,3	benefit	152:23	68:8	112:1,9
68:21	80:21	black	168:7	127:23
eginning	Dondonin	82:16	h omb i n a a	132:3
66:2 67:8	Benjamin 151:2	118:2	bombings 67:17	172:24,25
76:17	151:2	130:16	68:7,10	192:11
86:3	big	159:8	68:7,10	
130:10	131:12	blank	border	bribery
168:18	169:13	61:6	96:22	107:15
180:17	bigger	61:6	borne	111:6
191:22	90:20	62:17	186:4	bribes
egins	176:12,20	block		111:7
8:3 37:7		76:18	Bosnia	bring
73:13	bilateral	blocked	65:3 66:7	22:24
	117:9,11	90:12,25	154:17	78:25
76:20,24 161:22	Bill	91:5,12	Boston	156:2
101:22	135:18	92:7,11,	148:4	191:13
ehalf		18		191:13
8:11,15,	billion		bottom	British
17,24	124:24	blocking	46:6	142:7
15:13	billionaire	92:1	177:8,19,	broadening
16:3,4	s	blowing	25 178:17	150:7
62:7	149:19	108:1	box	
79:25	1. 2	_	148:19	broader
145:18	bin	board	h	96:11
151:24	51:20,24	36:15	branch	108:15
186:2,25	52:4 53:5	40:23	56:17	broadly
elief	54:3,11,	43:19,20	57:1 60:5	92:13
159:22	15 55:1	60:16	61:22	96.9
	58:17,24	61:16	64:4 69:5	
eliefs	62:4,10	67:14	85:18	brought
158:21	67:1	86:7	97:13	23:1
elieved	69:23	bodies	branches	153:4
78:20	71:24	98:2	55:11	bucket
	72:8	hade-	56:3 57:5	148:1
Sembry	85:18	body	58:3,4	hunah
9:22	89:2	98:3	64:8,20	bunch
13:7,8	138:19	boilerplate	65:3,7,8,	137:8
15:9,12	145:18	115:15	17 66:7,	Bush
Bembry's	152:6		13 68:24	162:16



January 12, 2024

Case 1:03-md-01570-GBD-SN

#### Index: business..chain 168:18 15,22 124:13, caveated 53:13 122:22,23 58:7 22,23 44:13 business 125:9 65:10 45:14 44:4 candidates 69:8,25 135:4 48:12 156:7 131:11 79:13 136:12 49:14,16 186:14,15 capacity 137:17,25 80:23 caveats 187:4 22:12 81:10 141:16 44:10,19 156:15,19 86:17 150:19 45:5,6,17 179:23 87:19 154:5 C ceding 165:18,19 94:24 captured 107:25 100:10 166:11 cables 24:22 102:6 175:8 cellars 168:24 care 103:25 183:2 153:5 call 17:21 104:7,11, 187:8 69:4 71:8 Center 18:4 14,24 191:20 97:20 68:8 105:12 careful cases 155:8 119:6 110:14 139:2 78:9,23, 154:14 114:20 191:1 central 25 81:3 160:6 117:4 113:20 124:12 carefully 179:5 132:7 145:11 128:11 48:11,12 180:10, 134:21 152:1 167:4 185:19 11,18 135:21 187:3 century 136:25 carried called 188:13 150:3,6 152:20 31:4 9:8 33:15 154:10 cast 157:3 167:13 37:10 157:18 190:17 161:13 92:15 Carter 159:10 172:23 127:17 Catholicism 8:25 190:23 173:2,17 153:11,12 159:4 9:13,17 176:13,19 certainty 10:16 calling caused 177:12 72:13 11:20 27:7 78:11 185:25 15:8 certificati 39:16 189:5,10 causing 16:18,22 on 41:11 190:5 139:24 31:5 17:4 18:6 192:15,23 camera 20:21 caution cetera 8:10 case 23:22 13:9 32:19,20 8:15,17 campaign 27:2 caveat 94:21 40:8 183:3 29:15 105:9 44:16,24 50:14 32:6 33:4 Canada 45:7,11 113:24 68:4 78:7 35:4 38:3 120:16 185:13 46:11 80:4 81:4 39:20 121:12, 48:22 chain 42:11 113:14 20,22 49:4 50:4 69:19,21 117:7,17 44:21 122:22,23 60:7,8 120:5,14, 70:5,7, 46:14 61:12,13, Canadian 17 121:4, 12,21 47:25 24 62:5 71:4,23 120:15,23 6,7 49:8 63:17 72:14 121:14, 122:21 52:15 64:6



re: Terrorist At	tacks on Septem	ber 11, 2001	Index: cha	aircircumstanc
98:7	34:23	143:20,22	179:13,17	18,25
chair	35:8,17	144:24	180:19	27:5,6,16
146:14	66:4,17	146:2,19,	cheek	28:8,16,
140.14	133:22	23 149:15	95:25	18,21
change	134:17,18	151:19,21		36:25
23:22	135:7,13,	156:3,24	cherrypick	37:8,25
changed	14,15,17,	159:15	27:14	38:22
103:8	20 136:1,	171:5	chooses	39:5,12,
113:19	7,21	172:9	43:6	16 40:17,
162:15	137:21,23	charity		19 41:10
170:23	139:9,13	9:25	choosing	42:10
172:2,8	142:13	13:16	42:8	43:13
	143:10,	15:13,16,	chose	44:5,9,
changing	13,20,22	21 31:16,	35:22	12,13
34:4	144:13	17 55:20		45:5,11,
char	148:14	56:17	chosen	14,18,25
56:20	176:7		51:25	46:21
178:3	178:3	57:1	Chris	47:22
	179:24	58:17,24	181:17	48:3,11,
characteriz	180:4,12,	60:4,5,18		16,25
ation	13 191:23	61:20,22	Christianit	49:3,12
39:10		64:4	У	50:6
46:11,16	charities	66:23	150:18,24	71:22
71:2	12:17,18,	134:12	152:1	72:4
121:16	24,25	135:5	159:9	129:9
characteriz	13:10,13,	136:3,13	Christians	140:7
enaracteriz	15 14:12	138:13,	68:4	165:15,25
32:4	55:3,5,8,	14,18,20		167:19,21
69:21	14,18,24	142:22	Christmas	
73:20	56:3,20	144:4	137:5	CIA/FBI
	57:5,9,22	145:10	Christopher	163:19
95:1	58:9,11	147:2,14	185:23	circle
160:8	59:7,13,	177:3		185:11
175:15	20 62:4	191:22	churches	
181:14,16	63:3,8,13	chart	159:5	circular
characteriz	64:3,9,	90:8	CIA	114:6,14
ed	18,20,21,	50.0	20:20,22,	115:24
46:19	22 67:20,	chat	25 21:3,	116:21
168:9,10	24 68:12	161:15,16	8,10,17,	122:8
	91:22	Chechnya	20,25	circulars
characters	108:11,16	154:19	22:8,13	113:24
190:17	125:18		23:2,7,	123:10
charitable	137:10	check	10,11	123.10
30:9,19	138:1,6,8	176:1		circumstanc
31:1,10	139:6,18	177:9,20	24:8,12,	es
32:3,17,	140:3	178:2,6,	13 25:5,	94:11
22,24	142:18,20	17	13,18	173:22
,	, , ,		26:11,14,	



cite	123:13	coherent	160.03	32:16
21:25		97:2	169:23	32:16 85:10
	131:15	91:2	170:4	
26:11	140:22	cold	commission	86:8
32:2	149:1	127:20	74:6,13,	185:8
36:24	155:13	gollongo	19 126:24	comparative
42:17	171:3	collapse 95:13	143:5	114:21
43:14	172:19	95:13	163:12	115:3,4
45:6,14,	185:20	collateral	commission'	116:1,2,
18,20	clearance	169:13		22,24
75:15,20	28:22	170:12	<b>S</b>	120:23
77:22	-14-1-	colleague	131:21	122:19
80:20	click	9:1,23	commitment	123:2,14
81:1	161:16	9:1,23	111:14	
93:1,6,10	client	collecting	committee	compare
107:3	9:15	181:23	32:19	115:6
160:19	117:18	collection	32:19	125:5
cited	-14	126:23		compared
18:20	clients	120.25	35:17	129:21
23:3	15:19	college	92:16	
26:25	20:7	96:4	96:1	comparing
53:3	114:10	116:8	136:8	79:3
122:21	118:11	150:20	144:13	competent
	131:12	column	148:15	122:12
city	186:2,5,	24:4	153:22	competing
188:20,23	25	90:11	185:6	159:2
civil	climate		189:12	159:2
14:21	151:16	combat	common	complained
78:9 81:4	Clinton	68:16	34:11	142:7
154:7		112:16,18	124:8,14,	complementa
	57:15,21, 24	165:1	21,22	ry
classificat	24	comfortable	128:20	97:16
lon	close	15:1	133:14	57.10
10:17	148:15	120:1	163:9	complete
clean	151:11	124:6	communicate	14:22
119:7	169:18		35:21	42:15,24
139:4	174:9	commandment	35:21	52:8
-7	192:12,24	s	communicate	130:17
clear	closed	157:23	d	167:15
11:10	15:16,20	commandos	183:20	completely
14:8	13.10,20	153:4	communicati	22:21
24:22	club		ons	29:4 80:2
30:4,15	190:18	comment	92:17	122:12
32:24	co-founder	128:19	32:1 <i>1</i>	145:10
61:18	35:16	comments	companies	154:24
65:5	144:11	173:25	101:19	155:17
80:15				



January 12, 2024

Index: completeness..consult

#### JONATHAN M. WINER In re: Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001

Case 1:03-md-01570-GBD-SN

#### conceal 136:24 138:10 considerati 186:10 134:13 143:22 143:23 on completenes 51:14 147:11, concede conducted 12,14 118:16,19 29:3 39:2 157:21 considerati 151:24 ons complex conducting concept 152:1 78:22 31:11,12 160:11 64:22 127:16 conflicts 144:9,21 65:6 concern 68:3 considered 152:22 162:13 13:12 154:14 18:18 compliance 45:18 conduit 130:16 confusing 85:8 99:2 140:9 concerned 35:3,6,15 170:19 102:3 43:24 confidentia Congression consisted 106:5 1 143:7 70:5,7 116:15 al 154:1 10:9,11 118:23,24 153:3 71:23 159:13 174:18 119:1,8 172:7 consistent connected confidentia 122:3 92:20 11:17 concerns lity 123:20,23 98:20 126:25 10:19 26:13 124:15 131:4,20 78:18 connection 125:2 confine 157:16 81:15 26:2 53:2 130:17 160:1 175:15 138:5 58:21 compliant 184:16 confirm 60:11 conclude 186:22 98:24 16:24 69:11 47:20 99:6,24, 18:17 consolidate 70:23 25 100:7, 48:5 74:9 71:7 78:7 8,9 103:1 concluded 90:24 82:8,12 95:12,17 105:3,4, 48:16 93:2 101:1 conspiring 5,10,11 49:12 191:9 108:17,20 77:6 78:5 complicated 66:22 110:22 confirmatio 193:3 constitutio 114:15 28:15 31:24 115:11 nal conclusion 174:12 94:11 33:6 56:5 116:3 47:5 confirmed 95:10 123:21 49:25 constraints 41:12 165:3 131:25 80:11 conclusions 42:7 150:19 complied 39:24 constructio 151:18 confirming 117:2 72:12 158:11 11:16 21:3 comprehensi 182:1 conclusive conflation 190:15 consul 44:14 35:1 97:3 188:23 connections conditionin 161:25 conflict 80:4 consulate g 164:22 67:25 81:24 188:16,19 151:16 68:16 computer considerabl consult conduct 136:4 126:9,13 104:12 137:8,22 76:5 106:18



	tacks on Septem			consultedcorre
120:6	123:12	23,24	cooperation	23 21:1,
consulted	continue	157:1,5	168:9,16	22 22:1,
121:22	83:2,9	172:10	coordinatio	5,19,21
133:24	90:22	180:13	n	24:10
155.21	104:21	control	77:2	26:16,17
consumers	114:9	32:12		27:20
28:1,10,	127:24	49:22	copacetic	30:1,6,10
19 169:14	182:18	51:9	117:16	35:23
contained	184:7,8	116:13	copies	36:7,9,
40:16		145:11,14	22:12,13	21,22
61:6	continued	154:18	174:19	37:23
188:7	67:16,19		_,_,_,	38:2,24,
	154:7	controls	copy	25 39:2,7
content	continues	147:15	16:14,25	40:2
185:22	46:4	148:21	17:13,21,	47:24
context		controversi	22 18:1	48:22
24:12,17,	continuing	al	19:7 23:2	49:7,10
18 25:4	43:22		84:18	51:21
29:12	104:24	141:3,5	177:9	52:1
31:13	165:1	170:7,10	178:17	53:25
	contrary	convenient	180:25	54:12
34:24	129:5	154:15	183:7	55:5,9,
36:14	129:5	aonuonti on	gomo	12,17
41:3,4	contrasting	convention	core	56:3
43:25	126:9	108:19	150:13	58:6,18,
44:1,3,	aont mi but o	156:17	155:14	19,25
22,25	contribute	conventions	183:14	59:8,15,
50:18,20	133:12	108:1	corner	25 62:4
51:1,2	contributin	111:13	52:22	63:4,9,10
61:13	g	112:24	~	
65:15,18	140:6		Corp	64:5,11
66:20		conversatio	177:19	68:9
68:18,22	contributio	n	corporate	69:1,2,7,
72:16	n	151:8	31:6	19,24
96:10	133:15	176:6	<b>a</b>	73:23,24
107:21	135:15,19	186:18	Corporation	74:7,15
111:16	137:6,13	conversatio	14:1	75:5
115:22	147:1	ns	Corporation	80:22
122:16	176:7	140:18	'ន	81:25
137:1	181:6	164:3,5,	177:7	82:3
151:12	contributio	10		85:24
154:25	ns	10	correct	86:16
166:4,9	135:14	convey	17:18	87:10
170:21	136:5,10	85:16	18:20	88:16
aonta	139:9	conveyed	19:7,11,	91:1
contextual	143:20	87:14,15	12,16,21	97:22
44:17	156:21,	0/.14,10	20:2,5,	98:25
45:2	170:71		11,17,20,	106:7,25



		Index: correctedcrimes	
te counter	courses	Cozen	
23:12	150:20	8:25	
68:21	165:16	CPA	
counterterr	gourt	20:1,3	
orism		20:1,3	
12	8:6,9 9:4	cracked	
107:4	26:12,24	148:7	
countries	27:5	create	
94:10,12	34:25	60:23,24	
96:7	42:5,9,	95:4	
97:1,11	12,23	130:11	
ıti 98:3	43:6,7	130:11	
102:20	79:12	created	
107:23	80:13,21	31:2 96:5	
110:21,24	121:7	150:4	
111:4	122:20,24	creates	
115:6	123:3		
127:9,10,	125:4	98:15	
18	141:15	creating	
128:11,13	courtesy	169:20	
n 129:16,23	_	creation	
130:19	17:21	98:1	
138:9	84:17	90:1	
		credence	
countries'	cover	34:11	
5,6	80:14	71:10	
country	106:24	credentiale	
31:19	120:22	d	
92:2 97:9	coverage	117:10	
99:4	108:8	117.10	
120:11		credibility	
125:3	covered	183:21	
128:16	59:9	credible	
127.2	64:12	72:15	
3:7 137:3 158:1	87:17		
169:10	107:19	crediting	
	108:4,21	41:18	
country's	112:23	creed	
96:6	covering	150:4	
116:15	101:16		
couple	108:1	crime	
164:15	112:20	107:18,20	
174:10		108:1,7	
	covers	110:19	
	53:8	156:16	
	116:19	crimes	
100:13	125:13	78:24	
	182:10 184:3,6 188:13	182:10 184:3,6 188:13 116:19	



ONATHAN M. V re: Terrorist At	tacks on Septem	ber 11, 2001	Index	January 12, 20 x: criminalDen
79:1	169:5	38:1,22	day-to-day	88:1
106:24	171:22,24	39:18	96:24,25	dedicated
107:21,25	181:25	40:22	days	66:5,17
108:5	custody	41:11,17	154:3	162:6
110:19	24:24	42:5	175:13	
111:10,11	21.21	43:13,17		dedication
112:23,24	customer	44:6,15,	de	166:23
113:3	61:20	20 46:11	128:11	deductible
130:12	customers	47:9	deadline	111:7
riminal	10:10	71:5,7,8,	175:15	3 3
34:17	58:23	9 72:11,	1 7	deeply
50:14	60:4	16,17	deal	116:4
78:7,25	61:20	77:17,18,	43:7	159:13
81:3	149:8	22,23	167:24	defendant
91:23		87:6 88:5	168:4	13:22
96:21	CV	126:22	dealing	
106:15,16	19:7,9	188:7	130:1	defendants
141:17,23	Cyprus	191:4		15:15,17
	127:10	3-4-	decade	defense
156:6 162:8	186:8	<b>date</b> 8:7 45:1	156:8	170:13
162:8	20070		decades	
riminalizi		53:12,14	123:16	defer
g	D	100:16	143:1	132:3
130:22,23		105:13,24		deficient
	D.C.	113:3	December	98:4
ritical	8:9	174:8,11,	53:10	
68:19		12 179:8,	decide	define
167:18	daily	15,16	42:13	30:8
riticisms	184:2	dated	125:4	defined
102:18	dam	17:1		112:24
	170:12	81:20	decision	
riticized	⊥/∪.⊥∠		65:16	definition
42:17,18	damage	dates	78:11,12	30:25
187:18,20	169:14	179:11	79:9	31:14
ross	damaging	David	111:9	definitive
96:21	187:20	34:16	120:21,24	51:16
	107:20	31.10	168:14	
urrency	Dan	Dawah	185:13	degree
116:14	151:2	69:11	decisions	21:15
urrent	dangerous	136:3		deliberatio
67:9,10,	139:11	137:8,10	28:5	ns
11 100:18	T 3 2 : T T	145:16,24	141:25	108:21
114:13	data	149:10	175:9	
146:14	24:8	day	declassifie	Delstin
166:17	26:8,15	day	d	121:10
	29:13,14,	8:23	21:21	Dennis
167:24,25	17 30:4	114:13		
168:5,6	· -	160:14,17	decode	163:2



## JONATHAN M. WINER

January 12, 2024 Index: department..digesting In re: Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001

		ber 11, 2001		artmentdigestir
department	depositing	design	167:3,4,	80:16
9:16	131:11	119:10	13,17	determining
19:14,17	deposition	designate	designation	123:19
22:11	8:4,8	10:10	s	
57:16	10:8,11	61:21	10:19	development
67:22	11:10	171:18	57:11	98:2
95:16	14:15	1/1:10	58:9,13	150:12
96:25	14:15	designated	90:3	Devin
99:3	36:10	55:16,18,	141:6	185:6,14,
116:10,	66:21	20 57:6,	141:0	17
11,12		10,23	designed	
127:2	73:6,7	58:5	94:17	devote
129:13	80:14	59:14,23	96:18	38:19
130:16	112:4,5	60:6	97:6,16	devoted
155:12,18	118:5	61:22	designing	163:23
164:6,8	128:2,3	62:21,24	118:22	
170:9,15	152:9	63:15,22		dictum
181:18,	173:5,6	64:5 65:3	destination	158:25
19,20,21,	191:19	68:25	140:24	difference
22,24	192:17,	69:1 79:7	destruction	51:14
182:21	18,24	89:12	165:13	158:10
183:6,25	193:3	92:8		166:11
	depositors	141:2,3,	detail	
departments	169:14	21	34:15	differences
166:17	A	143:11,	60:25	150:23
dependent	deposits	15,17	88:5	differentia
- 117:8	53:24	155:22	94:13	te
	depth	160:13,	detailed	33:20
depending	124:5	14,16	23:13	34:13
34:24	169:2	166:25	72:18	
123:11	A	167:5,8	72.10	differentia
depends	deputy	171:6,14	details	tion
13:13	189:9	172:20	25:3	34:12
24:11	describe	180:1,5	91:11	difficult
25:4	74:1		121:19	33:20
29:11	92:13	designating	detainees	34:10
44:16,22	106:21	66:12	23:12,17	88:14
50:19,22	describes	156:3	24:19	173:21
117:5	72:4	designation		
118:3,21		25:24	determine	difficultie
122:5	81:23	57:18	22:7 27:6	s
123:12	describing	65:15,18	61:1	67:23
137:1	38:14	67:13	63:19	difficulty
T J / • T	doggwinkion	91:9	83:11	175:5
			122:9	= : = • •
151:12	description	156:12.20	122.7	
	100:2 111:19	156:12,20 160:11	determined	<pre>digesting 156:12</pre>



digits 53:6 diligence 138:16 139:1,13 140:5,11 144:22 146:7	disagree 130:3 146:17 disclose	<b>discussing</b> 11:3 21:17	<pre>distraught 155:17</pre>	86:12,21, 25 87:1,
diligence 138:16 139:1,13 140:5,11 144:22	146:17 disclose			△⊃ o/:l.
138:16 139:1,13 140:5,11 144:22	disclose			20 89:23,
139:1,13 140:5,11 144:22		26:11	distributed	24 92:6
140:5,11 144:22		30:3 63:8	27:25	100:15,
144:22	134:12	110:20	District	24,25
	135:16	125:18	8:6 77:3	101:1,22
1/16 • 1/	186:10	176:9	disturbing	102:5,7,
	disclosed		151:22	12
147:15	134:25	discussion	151:22	105:14,
148:3,20	disclosing	12:14	diversion	16,17
dinner	134:19	21:3 73:18	138:17	116:15,20
137:5	174:17		diverted	126:16
diplomat		74:14 75:8	146:25	129:19
120:3	disconnect			140:17
	11:17	84:15	dobara	160:21
diplomatic	discounting	108:17 120:19	147:19,20	173:14
170:16	184:14	120:19 157:9	doctrinal	174:6
direct		157:9	150:22	175:23
54:5	discovery	discussions	157:21	176:15,24
73:11	15:14,19	58:11	158:9	177:2,5,
76:14	25:19,21	110:24	4	13 178:8,
95:8	26:1	153:23	doctrine	16,17
	32:13	174:18,24	150:9	180:15
directed	53:16,18	180:11	157:18	183:11,12
68:3	59:3	dispositive	doctrines	documentary
141:12	60:20	191:3	158:14	21:14
157:1	71:11		document	
directing	172:14,17	dispute	18:21	documentati
33:12	175:8,9	64:14,18,	23:5	on
144:4	discuss	22	24:22	147:10
direction	12:19	disputes	28:3	documented
112:25	31:2 45:5	150:22	39:13	38:16
166:14	73:15	disqualifie	50:21	do aum +
	92:24	disqualifie d	53:1	documents 19:1
directly	152:11	120:10,21	65:14,19	
95:5	discussed	120:10,21	70:12,21,	25:14,19,
115:9	15:24		25 71:2,	20,25 26:1 31:6
147:7	43:18	distillatio	13,14,17,	38:11,12,
183:20	58:17	n	18 72:15,	38:11,12, 15 51:18
director	67:23	183:13	19 75:2	52:10
85:15	81:18	distinction	81:20,23	54:21
177:15	145:4	34:1	82:5	56:6,14,
179:23			83:13	19 58:20,
44	discusses	distinction	85:1,5,	21 59:2
<b>dirty</b> 98:15	55:3	<b>s</b> 51:15	13,15,23	60:8,19



tacks on Septem	ber 11, 2001	Index	January 12, 202 C: Dokeseminen
donating	doubt	113:8	Egypt
149:19	50:10,13	137:9	150:12
donation	download	151:9	Egyptian
		152:9	147:20
	101.10	158:17	155:8
	dozens	169:16	133.0
	157:24,25	186:23	elections
	dramatic	early	183:5
		_	187:12
			electric
140:10,19	drill		126:10
donations	115:18	154:3	
133:21	dropping	ease	electrocute
134:17,		22:25	153:5
18,24		eagion	element
136:3	-		150:8
139:13			130.0
143:22	107:20		elements
147:18	108:7	146:15	25:16
148:5	drugs	East	56:20
149:21	_	151:5	82:24
156:22	100.0	152:2	114:12
	Dubai	162:5	115:10
	8:24		135:24
	due		141:25
		•	151:18
		189:19	152:24
148:11		effect	162:19
donor's		145:2	183:14
148:11		191:24	188:11,12
_		. 55	elicit
			10:8
•			embassies
	140:3,20		155:11,16
72:5	duly		omb o = =
dossier	9:8		embassy
	Durham	185:2	68:7 80:1
		efforts	emergence
	107.24	38:16	157:13
		77:2	Emergency
	E	92:21	141:8
		96:18	141:0
	earlier	165:1	emerging
			154:11
			eminence
100.110	100:22		emrnence
	donating     149:19  donation     135:7,25     136:2,22, 23     142:13,16     147:16,     17,25     148:18,19  donations     133:21     134:17,     18,24     136:3     139:13     143:22     147:18     148:5     149:21     156:22  donor     72:8     134:20,25     147:1     148:11  donor's     148:11  donors     23:18     24:3,24     37:11     72:5	149:19       50:10,13         donation       download         135:7,25       161:16         136:2,22,       dozens         23       157:24,25         142:13,16       dramatic         17,25       155:7         148:18,19       drill         donations       115:18         133:21       dropping         134:17,       137:4         18,24       drug         139:13       57:20         143:22       107:20         147:18       108:7         148:5       drugs         149:21       108:8         Dubai       38:18         149:21       138:18         148:11       138:16         139:1       140:5,11         148:11       141:17         donor's       140:5,11         148:11       141:17         donors       144:22         23:18       146:6         24:3,24       147:15         37:11       148:3,20         dossier       9:8         181:12       Durham         183:7,8       184:24         185:21       E	donating         doubt         113:8           149:19         50:10,13         137:9           donation         download         151:9           135:7,25         161:16         152:9           136:2,22,         dozens         169:16           136:2,22,         dozens         169:16           147:16,         dramatic         early           17,25         155:7         72:9           148:18,19         drill         95:16           donations         115:18         154:3           133:21         dropping         ease           134:17,         137:4         22:25           18,24         drug         easier           139:13         57:20         84:25           143:22         107:20         84:25           147:18         108:7         146:15           148:5         drugs         East           149:21         108:8         151:5           156:22         10bai         162:5           0thai         162:5         162:5           147:1         38:18         189:19           donor         140:5,11         145:2           148:11         141:17



January 12, 2024

Index: emphasize..essential

III I C. I CII OII SI A	ilacks on Septem	bei 11, 2001	IIIUCA. CIII	priasizeesseriliai
emphasize	156:1	entire	11:5,8,13	112:1,8
65:17	engaged	29:12	12:11,12	115:25
employed	65:8 66:7	41:10	13:18,19	127:23
20:4,9	67:20	43:25	14:13	128:25
82:3 85:6	137:11	44:1,3,25	15:11	133:5
02:3 05:0	147:19	64:19	16:1,7,	134:23
employee	147.19	130:1	12,20,23	136:17
20:10,11	engaging	138:25	17:11	137:20
employing	137:24	entirety	18:13	155:21
23:12	138:13	66:23	20:24	158:19
	143:8,21		23:24	161:4,8,
encouraged	English	entities	24:6	20 172:25
184:8	52:22	31:22	27:4,21	173:9,13,
end	84:5	32:11	29:18	18 175:19
32:20	85:9,20	33:20,21	32:9	176:3,5,
46:23	86:2,24	34:12	33:22	11,17,20,
51:8 59:4	87:15	35:2	35:12	22
147:2	89:21	115:11	38:5 40:4	177:14,17
154:11	119:20	136:14	43:10	178:21,24
167:19	122:6,14	137:9	45:3	187:15
	123:9	149:3	47:18	191:7,13,
ended	126:14	162:8	48:6 50:2	17
154:5,8	134:10	entity	52:17,20	192:10,21
endorsed	178:22	33:15,18	53:19	errata
149:17		40:11	58:14	191:19,25
endorser	enormous	59:13,22	65:20,25	192:2
181:11	67:6	63:14	69:14	1711
101.11	163:23	66:4,17	70:3	error
ends	164:16	141:4,5	73:4,10	68:9
84:13	166:23	·	76:4	176:24
enforce	ensure	envoy	79:20	188:14
128:17	17:3 98:6	167:12	81:7,12,	189:2
	140:6	EO14040	14 83:23	errors
enforced	ensuring	76:16	84:2,4,	190:10
131:2	166:9	equating	10,14,16,	oanouaina
enforcement	100.9	50:16	23 86:20	espousing 158:15
98:13,14	enter		89:18	158:15
129:2	65:22	equities	93:22	Esquire
131:18,	entered	170:18	97:4	8:11
22,23	126:12	171:20	99:10,14,	11:16
162:19		eradicated	16 100:11	essence
enforcing	entering	145:10	102:23	186:17
127:3	16:9		103:22	187:9,10
14/.5	enterprises	Erb	104:1,10,	
engage	189:8	8:14	13,16,22	essential
151:24		10:4,5,7,	105:1,22	118:1
		20,21	111:17	



essentially	evaluation	168:15	excuse	142:11
71:1 95:6	47:3,10	100:15	16:4	149:10
142:4	101:7	evidenced	26:20	149:10
	101:7	68:6		existence
170:4		evidentiary	41:1,11	32:14
184:18	105:8,16	78:13	45:22	34:9
185:12	116:5,7	70:13	71:22	115:13
established	evaluations	evolution	75:2	183:11
24:14	116:4	152:12	99:14	exit
95:7		evolve	127:19	83:1
148:1	event	156:5	129:3	03:1
162:5	67:5	130.3	156:24	expand
	163:22	evolved	177:20	14:17
establishin	events	160:12	190:4	ownanded
J	53:17	exact	executive	<b>expanded</b> 112:17,
95:11	160:8	168:11	97:13	112:17,
establishme	163:6	182:12		19,21
nt	186:3,4	102:12	exercise	113:2
147:5,8		exam	119:16	expect
162:20	eventually	20:1	exhibit	10:8
	141:2	examination	11:16	53:22,23
₹U	145:11	10:5	16:9,10	139:14,15
115:16	148:6		17:22	148:3
European	evidence	124:3	22:22	
111:4,8	21:4	169:3	52:18	expecting
182:5	25:16	examination	65:23	27:4
	35:10	s	76:1,2	42:5,9
evaluate	39:22,23	129:25	83:21	expense
28:16	41:11		89:15,16	86:8
44:25	43:11,13,	examine	93:19,20	
46:24	15,19	112:13	· ·	expenses
88:10,14	60:23	examined	99:11,12,	86:6,9
100:2,5,	62:13	9:10	15	87:10,17
12	64:8	124:19	103:19,20	experience
102:18,19	74:19,21		111:21	121:14,17
116:14	74:19,21	examples	112:10	129:16
163:8		45:6	161:5,6	
184:17	80:16	155:7	173:10,11	expert
evaluated	91:17	exceed	191:14,15	14:19,21
	121:11	96:9	exhibits	15:2,14,
116:22	122:9		16:19	19,24
184:18	124:3	exceptions		16:8,25
188:5	125:9	57:18	exist	22:14
evaluating	142:11	142:24	33:19	25:9
27:16	145:8	excerpted	34:8	26:13
28:18	165:12,	88:9	existed	35:9,19
184:11	17,18		31:4 77:5	39:17
	167:2,6,7	exchanging	//.5	42:13



ONATHAN M. \ re: Terrorist At	WINER ttacks on Septem	ber 11, 2001	Ir	January 12, 20 ndex: expertizefa
48:15	expressly	48:17	135:2,3	140:8
53:2	112:25	49:14,16,	186:14	153:7,8
69:12		25 50:16		172:20
71:22	extended	51:10,16	Fahad	6
75:21	21:2	152:11	73:16	family's
76:6 77:9	extensive		75:3	38:23
105:18	151:20		fail	49:5
109:7	166:24	F	169:13	fanatics
114:3,16,	extensively		failed	154:1
19,21	19:10	face	42:18	fare
116:24	121:4	181:5	188:1	156:1
117:1	121:4	faced	100:1	130:1
120:6,7	extent	124:24	failures	fashion
121:9	21:10	124:24	125:1	97:3,17
122:2	35:5,14	facilitatin	fair	FATF
123:2,22	58:2,4	g	33:24	92:25
124:13	106:18	56:11	82:7	93:5,6,14
138:3	113:11,21	146:3	02.7	94:8,17
139:19	141:16	facilitator	faith	95:6,24
157:21	158:7		126:20	97:6,18
	164:25	<b>s</b> 23:18	faiths	98:1,23
expertize	extortion		151:15	99:6,19
150:22	107:17	24:4,25	131.13	100:6
experts		facility	fall	
15:2	108:6	71:1	186:20	102:2,14,
116:9	extra	fact	falling	16 103:1,
121:13	182:16	39:5,11	189:17	2,4,23
123:14	extradite	40:16,17		104:17
	78:14	41:13	false	106:2,5,
explain	70.14	42:7	23:20	17,22
39:15	extraordina		25:1	107:7,19
46:16	ry	66:14	26:15	108:10,23
77:21	189:25	71:15	27:1,7	109:6,14,
147:4	extreme	72:3,24	familiar	25 110:2,
explicit	154:9	96:21	21:9	5,9,11,
110:16	194.9	104:16	93:14	16,22
	extremely	140:15	94:6	111:12,
explicitly	169:24	factions	133:6	18,19
106:23	191:1	189:18	134:2	112:11,
exposed	extremism	forton	162:11	12,17,19
153:23	151:3,7,	factor		113:22
	23	166:4	family	116:15
express	۵ ک	facts	32:12	122:8,16
14:23	extremist	31:12	45:19	128:9
111:6	51:11	46:18	48:17	fault
	151:12	81:1	49:13,15	31:15
expression		0 = 1 =		7117



n re: Terrorist At	tacks on Septem	ber 11, 2001	Inde	ex: FBIforeigners
FBI	156:22,25	95:5	fines	focuses
72:23	157:1	96:6,22	124:24,25	150:22
74:6,21	file	98:18	finish	focusing
75:2,8,14	82:8,11	106:18	127:25	191:21
77:9 78:6	02:0,11	113:10	127:25	191:21
79:10	filed	118:16,19	finished	folder
81:20	34:16	125:6,7	27:24	175:24
82:21,25	filled	130:12	28:4 48:3	follow
85:5	126:5,12	139:6,7	firm	109:9
86:13,25	•	146:19	85:7	
87:6 88:9	finalized	149:7		foot
129:10	174:15	financiers	firsthand	38:8
161:22,24	finalizing	89:3	79:2	footnote
163:9,15	175:14	91:18	five-minute	26:10,24
164:6,10		91:10	111:24	27:12,15
168:12	finance	financing	112:1	38:6,7,9,
183:16,	85:10	91:24		16,21
17,20	103:13	104:5	five-year	39:4,7
184:12	105:20	110:10,13	59:3	40:18
TDT L	106:16	112:18	flagged	41:19
FBI's	108:18,19	113:1	26:12	48:7,10,
162:4	110:6,17	find		14 49:11
February	113:5	37:14	flexibility	79:12
36:24	126:25	40:2	94:12	80:21
37:8	129:7	45:22	Flint	83:6
federal	130:22	74:19,21	98:10	109:5,11
14:21	136:15	158:12	£1.1	
97:13	140:10,16	185:23	flip	footnotes
97:13 116:13	143:7	189:14	99:22	49:11
110:13	147:10	109:14	Florida	footnoting
feel	172:12	finding	188:16,	27:3
83:3	financial	37:14	17,18	
90:21,22	19:23	42:16	flow	force
120:1	23:13	131:21	98:12	161:25
122:12	46:7	findings	98:12	162:3,20,
123:5,6	47:1,20,	39:24	flows	21,24
134:10	21,23	62:7	145:15	189:18
field	48:5	02.7	focus	forces
94:10	58:16,22	fine	153:20	154:6
130:9	59:6,12,	10:20	164:2,9,	
143:2	18,22,23	13:3 14:3	12,24	foreign
162:4	60:3	82:7	166:21	120:11
	61:19	101:2,5		141:9,19
fields	62:2	117:15	focused	153:14,22
125:21,24	63:2,6,12	135:25	94:2	187:11
fighters	64:2	176:18	150:8	foreigners
153:14	93:12	192:6		141:7
100.14	J J . 14			



forensic	formulation	foundations	front	fundamental
119:9	s	34:5,23	16:25	ly
123:24	21:17	founded	18:1	116:19
orai	forward	31:6	35:10	155:9
forgive 102:10	164:17	32:19	72:21	funders
146:13	104:17	143:14	178:9	71:12,15
140:13	found	150:6	192:4	/1:12,15
orgotten	24:16	150:6	frozen	funding
79:22	25:20	founder	54:4	40:12
orm	31:9 42:1	35:16		funds
20:21	70:23	140:13	fulfill	60:12,19
29:15	98:3	150:3	133:21	61:11
35:4	140:8,9,	fourth	134:18	62:19
42:11	10,12	46:6	143:24	63:20
49:8	182:23	89:22	188:4	146:22,25
53:13	foundation		fulfilled	
58:7	12:19	fragmentary	140:3	furtherance
65:10	28:4	37:15		77:6 78:5
69:8,25	30:9,10,	39:16	fulfilling	future
80:23	18,20	40:21	133:16	67:12
83:16	31:1,9,	41:12	136:21	166:18
94:24	10,18	42:6,22	full	168:2
105:12	32:3,5,	fragmenty	24:13	
136:25	14,17,18,	40:20	65:15	
152:20	22,25	5	£11	G
153:17	33:1,2,8,	framework	fully	
154:9	9,11,13,	96:11,17	15:7,19	Galloway
157:3	17,24	frameworks	34:13	191:19
	34:5,7,22	94:12	46:12	Gates
formal	35:1,8,	framing	174:6	135:18
31:3	17,18	42:20	function	135:18
186:17	36:2	42:20	118:2	gather
formally	135:4,13,	fraud	138:15	22:18
150:16	17,20	107:17	functioned	gave
5	136:8,21	108:7	34:3	110:16
formed	140:13,19	Frederick	34:3	121:1
32:25	141:4	10:1	fund	165:16
92:16	143:9,10,	16:3,4	23:18	182:6
161:22,24	13,15		24:3,24	183:13
Eorms	144:12,	free	37:11	103.13
114:23	14,18,19,	186:9	fundamental	GCC
115:14	20 177:3,	French	189:2	127:17
125:25	6 178:4,	153:4		130:15
126:12	10 179:24		fundamental	gears
Farmulatad	180:4	frequently	ist	73:1
formulated 174:23	= 3 4 • =	170:2	153:2	88:21



January 12, 2024

Index: general..happened

III IC. ICIIUIISI AI	ilacks on Septem	Dei 11, 2001	ilidex. g	generalnappened
160:10	165:2	27:25	Grand	113:24
173:15	goal	28:9,19	153:2,6	gulf
191:10	43:1	51:17	graphic	69:22
general	153:18	54:4	189:23	114:12
44:23		62:8,11,		115:9
74:6	Goetz	12,13	great	117:6,7,
136:19	10:1	66:22,25	124:5	15 118:12
141:13	14:10	67:3,8	140:2	10 110.12
	16:3,4	68:4,19,	greater	guy
generally	Golden	20 75:18	72:13	79:24
13:10	69:19,21	77:25		
21:1	70:5,7,	78:24	greatest	н
55:18	11,21	79:3	56:7	
60:12	71:4,23	87:25	greatly	
71:6 99:8	72:14	92:20	180:24	half
144:8		97:12	Cross on	190:22
160:3	good	110:20	Green	halfway
186:25	10:6,14,	114:24	34:19	89:6
generic	22,23	121:23	142:1	
51:2	12:10	122:21	162:17	Hamas
	15:5	127:1	gross	143:6,7
genuine	17:17	138:4,5,	123:12	147:18,20
168:25	91:6	21 142:7	aroun	hand
geographic	105:20	145:5,20	<b>group</b> 69:22	52:22
56:10	117:14	148:6	70:24	handle
	129:7	156:19	95:3	42:13
gist	133:12,14	162:14,22	95:5	42:13
168:12	138:16	164:4	groups	handled
give	139:10	167:23	156:13	144:7
17:16	159:7	168:24	growing	handwritten
34:10	160:6	169:2,3	148:4	86:1,5
75:18	167:1	170:2,8		126:7,11,
84:14	168:10	171:1	Gryskiewicz	12,21
96:15	187:1	172:2,5,8	9:24	
114:13	governance	187:5	Guantanamo	hang
134:13	138:16	189:15	24:21	9:11
142:19	arouse and	government'		happen
161:14	governed 158:1	s	guidance	127:14
176:1	120:1	27:19	110:16	156:7,11
183:5	governing	145:19	112:25	
giving	114:14	187:12	115:14	happened
139:5	government		117:18	57:24
148:24	19:18	governments	130:24	61:1,8
154:1	21:7	25:23	guidelines	81:3
	25:22	58:12	106:12,13	109:17
global	26:18	97:10	108:10	110:17
98:3	20.10			125:8



January 12, 2024 Index: happening..identification

## JONATHAN M. WINER

Case 1:03-md-01570-GBD-SN

	itaono on ocpioni		пиох. парро	mingaemimeation
154:13	head	56:17	19:14	62:5
156:8	35:16	84:15	91:18	67:9,10,
157:12	43:5	helpful	118:6	17 169:13
163:24	140:19	44:8	Holding	human
164:20	144:10,	182:20	32:16	21:14,15,
165:17	11,12,20	102:20	32:10	19
167:18	heading	helps	hole	19
172:16	24:3	83:24	130:16	Humana
185:15,18	24.5	heretic	holy	33:15
186:20	headquarter	158:8	152:7	humanist
happening	61:20		154:21	150:20
88:2	headquarter	hide		
157:7,8	ed	101:18	home	humanitaria
164:18	55:9	hiding	137:2	n
104.10	144:25	23:13	homeland	64:23
happy	186:8	h i ark	162:19	65:6
14:16		high	hone	67:21
16:14	headquarter	136:6	honorary	68:1,14
27:13	<b>S</b>	highlightin	188:19,22	138:8,9,
31:12	58:16,23	g	hope	14 145:15
44:7 57:8	59:6,12,	17:5,7,9	187:5	146:24
65:1	19 60:3	highly	host	hundred
135:23	62:3,24	148:25	11:25	80:8
149:5	63:3,7,13	182:8	12:2,6	182:11,13
166:18	64:3,11,	184:5		hundreds
182:3	20 65:5	189:6,7	hostile	28:20
186:5	66:4,16		169:24	47:7
hard	68:25 69:5,6,10	hijackers	hotel	
84:18	145:3	59:7	190:12,	Hussein
87:12	145:5	63:4,9	14,18	165:20
142:3	hear	73:22		
163:8	12:25	74:24	house	т
harm	heard	75:5 77:6	104:18	
138:17	124:11	78:2	164:4	
139:24	129:12	historicall	185:5	idea
	153:3	У	housekeepin	154:16,21
harmonizati	159:1,18	141:6	g	158:18
on		152:3	10:7	175:17
111:1	heavily	history	14:19	identical
harmonized	20:20	110:2	15:9	190:12
130:14	188:3	110:2	Hoyland	identificat
	held	141:11	141:4	ion
hatred	8:8 28:22	163:7,22		16:11
151:16	33:14	169:25	HR	22:23
haven	51:21		82:8,11	52:19
142:7	54:16	hold	huge	60:12
			-	00.12



ONATHAN M. V re: Terrorist At	VINER tacks on Septem	ber 11, 2001	Index: ide	January 12, 202 ntifiedincumbe
65:24	12:20,21	117:25	inaudible	58:11,12
76:3	13:9	158:16	167:11	86:6
83:22	15:13,16,			91:23
89:17	21 29:25	importance	inches	106:24
93:21	36:20	68:22	46:25	110:21
99:13	37:23	166:7	incident	114:25
103:21	38:18,23	important	190:11	118:14
111:22	39:7	60:7	191:2	134:18
161:7	40:12,16,	65:18		155:15
173:12	23 43:19	67:5	incidents	167:7
191:16	55:4,14	68:18	91:22	
	58:3	98:13	152:9	income
dentified	59:20	139:3	include	131:11
75:4	148:16	164:20	13:10,15	133:13
129:5		166:20	17:15	incoming
171:6	illegitimat	169:11	21:6	12:1
dentifies	е	170:22	26:17	
71:14	138:1,2	183:15	39:1,15,	incomplete
	immense		25 42:4,	22:20
dentify	136:20	impose	18,19	23:19
9:21		95:8	72:5,7	24:25
10:14	impact	imposes	82:24	26:14
11:6	159:14	27:15	107:11,	27:1,7
21:24	165:1		12,13,14,	38:4 56:4
26:23	166:5,6	impossible	15,16,17,	128:23
58:15	impeded	61:1	18	143:25
59:5,11,	101:20	improper		144:1
18 60:2,		64:10	included	163:18
21 61:19	implement	144:2	19:1	inconclusiv
62:2	94:10,22	190:19	20:22	e
63:1,6,11	95:2		25:8	46:7,10,
64:1,7	97:18,21,	improve	26:15	13 47:1,
69:3	23 104:18	99:8	64:20	11,24
124:9	implementat	inaccuracy	72:21	
129:1	ion	176:16	83:14	incorporate
142:14	94:18		91:1 98:2	d
dentifying	98:4	inaccurate	107:24	110:19
37:10	113:8	86:16	111:10	144:15
60:15		inadequate	113:2	incorrect
63:19	implemented	96:6	156:6	27:17
03.13	113:11,23	inadoguatol	includes	
EEPA	128:10	inadequatel	112:24	incredibly
141:19	implicated	<b>y</b> 96:23	135:7,10	35:3
gor	91:22	J0:43	151:22	98:12
189:5		inapplicabl	176:15	incumbent
	implication	е		144:3
IRO	S	141:13	including	
9:25	40:1 88:4		43:13	



January 12, 2024 Index: independentintermingled

	taoko on coptem		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	deritiriterriningi
independent	inevitably	180:14	institution	183:22
97:12,15	80:10	181:23	32:21	184:1
indiastina	infancy	182:8	118:9	185:6,24
indicating 13:12	57:19	183:4,6,	125:6,7	186:13,18
13:12	57:19	13,15,19	institution	187:2,17
indication	infect	184:1,15,	al	189:1,12
131:16	98:15	17 186:3,		1 . 1 1
i	influence	7,23,24	170:18	intend
indicted	<pre>influence 159:7</pre>	187:11	institution	142:15
141:23		188:5,7	s	intended
individual	183:5		93:12	96:13
21:18	information	informed	95:5	97:7
30:6	10:9	183:10	106:18	181:6
34:21	23:14,17,	inherent	113:10	
35:3,23	19 24:24	31:15		intensified
36:4,5,	25:5,15	35:15	instruction	186:21
11,12	26:24		33:16	intensity
59:13,21	27:6	initial	insufficien	189:16
63:14	28:2,17	182:14	t	
	29:2,8	initially	38:19	intentional
75:3	39:25	68:3	47:4 48:4	ly
81:16	40:3	138:24	77:4	21:5
			78:3,4	interacting
110:24	42:7,18,	153:10	•	33:11
116:15	19,21,24,	154:20	80:16	33.11
135:14	25 44:14	initiated	integrated	interchange
136:12	46:21	95:12	97:17	ably
147:25	47:2,4,6,	162:7	130:13	151:10
172:19	7,12,15,		1 L L l	interested
178:11	16 48:2	inmeshed	integration	139:20
individual'	52:5	154:21	95:18	
s	60:15	inside	intelligenc	181:24
136:22	61:10	21:7	е	182:1,5,9
	63:19,24	57:23	22:8,18	interesting
individuals	64:10,12	141:14	27:19,25	31:23
49:21	71:11	142:9	28:4	191:3,4
69:22	72:10,20		37:15,25	
70:7	78:11	insight	39:17	interests
71:24	82:22	40:16	40:20	166:18
79:5,11	88:8	163:1	48:4	interfere
	02.10	172:14	74:20,22	187:12
145:21	92:10		1 - 4 0 1 4 4	
145:21 149:20	125:25	inspector	77.10 25	1
		inspector	77:18,25	
149:20	125:25	74:6	87:24	У
149:20 162:7 171:6	125:25 129:20 131:3	-	87:24 162:8	
149:20 162:7 171:6 indoctrinat	125:25 129:20 131:3 166:10,13	74:6	87:24 162:8 165:5,6,	<b>Y</b> 182:17
149:20 162:7 171:6 indoctrinat ion	125:25 129:20 131:3 166:10,13 169:5	74:6 instance 17:5,7	87:24 162:8 165:5,6, 8,9,10	Y 182:17 intermingle
149:20 162:7	125:25 129:20 131:3 166:10,13	74:6 instance	87:24 162:8 165:5,6,	_



120 11	166.3	00 100 5	CO 11	Talamiata
138:11	166:3	22 190:7	62:11	Islamists
159:17	interrelate	investigati	74:17	46:7
internation	dness	ng	involving	47:1,21,
al	170:11	95:14	78:23	24 48:5
12:21	interrelati	185:17	151:21	49:5
95:21		1 m	166:16	50:15,24
96:21	onship	investigati	190:13	51:15
111:14	118:13	on	TD3	153:9
112:15	interrogati	34:17	IRA	Isle
114:9	on	75:18	148:8	33:15
116:25	23:12	88:8	Iran	142:6
118:10,13	J b b	163:5,7	170:3,4	
119:2	interrupt	investigati		Israel
120:22	31:7 40:6	ons	Iraq	68:5
121:5	interview	49:3	164:25	127:9
122:16	72:19	162:7,12	165:5,13,	154:25
123:15	119:13	166:24	22 166:11	issue
127:12			182:2	58:24
130:5,10,	interviewed	investigati	Irish	59:13,20
130:5,10,	189:11	ve	148:5	63:3,13
	intimately	77:2		64:3,9,
139:14,21	185:9	investigato	irresponsib	17,24
141:8		r	le	67:2,24
142:4	intolerant	95:15	187:13	92:13
internation	157:14	JJ.13	IRS	104:12
ally	intro	investment	140:20	110:23
95:22	101:25	13:25		
145:16	107:3	85:7	Islam	115:19,21
169:17		177:7,19	68:2	117:23
	introduce	involve	133:11	118:3,9
interplay	8:12 9:18	29:4	150:5,14,	123:12
150:11	introductio	98:14	16,17,24	152:22
interpretat	n	90:14	151:1	165:16
ion	93:15	involved	Islamic	166:19
87:18	107:2	35:2,7	8:24	174:22
88:15,17		43:9 62:9	12:19,21	issued
120:15	invasion	66:25	48:17	106:13
121:11	186:22	79:1	49:13,16	110:5
150:5	investigate	116:4	66:5,18	114:6
	190:8	139:5	· ·	123:4
interpretat	191:6	147:7,9	79:23	162:22
ions		160:7	80:1	
71:13	investigate	167:3	145:23,24	issues
150:24	d	185:9	147:21	60:21
interpretin	78:25	190:14	154:10,21	61:17
_	162:24		158:13,	78:13,14
<b>g</b>	163:6,21,	involvement	14,15	110:21
118:23		38:23	159:10	



JONATHAN M. WINER	January 1
In re: Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001	Index: Izetbegovic

	•	· ·		
117:22	14:10	75:2	JW7	75:17
118:10,11	40404	J	89:16	96:4
124:8	joint	jure	TT-70	108:2
127:11,15	32:19	128:11	JW8	115:17
166:16	65:15,17	jurisdictio	93:19,20	142:19
189:12	68:23	n	JW9	155:20
T	129:9	124:20	99:12,15	160:3,5
Izetbegovic 154:18	147:6 160:20	jurisdictio		167:23
154:18	160:20	ns	77	179:2
	161:2	96:22	K	188:25
J	168:8	130:1		190:19
<del></del>	172:3		Kaliningrad	kinds
Jacob	1/2:3	Justice	186:9	90:5
68:10	jointly	116:12	Kane	98:12
00.10	77:4	164:6,11	140:20	125:1
Jane	Jon	Justin	143:16	148:5
190:10,21	9:23	8:23		167:9,10
January			Kashmir	107:9,10
8:7 53:9	Jonathan	JW	154:24	kingdom
59:4	8:4 9:7	112:10	keeping	56:12
105:24	11:1	JW1	165:20	143:11,12
	Jones	16:10,20	7 a = 5	kingdom's
Jewish	8:23	JW10	Kent	104:4
68:4			165:25	
Jihad	jowl	103:19,20	Kenya	knew
68:2,15,	95:25	JW11	155:16,22	174:8
16 147:21	Juan	111:21	Kenyans	191:5
153:10,12	168:17		_	1
100.10,12	100.17	IWID	155.74	knowing
158:18		JW12	155:24	knowing 111:10
158:18	Judaism	161:6	Kerry	111:10
158:18 <b>Joe</b>		161:6 <b>JW13</b>		111:10 knowledge
158:18	Judaism	161:6	Kerry 153:21	111:10 knowledge 49:5,6
158:18 <b>Joe</b>	Judaism 150:18,24	161:6  JW13  173:10,11	Kerry 153:21 key	111:10  knowledge 49:5,6 52:9 57:9
158:18  Joe  131:10	Judaism 150:18,24 judge	161:6  JW13  173:10,11  JW14	<pre>Kerry    153:21 key    37:14</pre>	111:10  knowledge 49:5,6 52:9 57:9 123:15
158:18  Joe     131:10  John     187:24	Judaism     150:18,24 judge     42:14	161:6  JW13  173:10,11  JW14  191:14,15	Kerry 153:21 key 37:14 78:15	111:10  knowledge 49:5,6 52:9 57:9 123:15 141:1,22
158:18  Joe     131:10  John     187:24  Johnson	Judaism 150:18,24 judge 42:14 120:20 121:1,18	161:6  JW13  173:10,11  JW14  191:14,15  JW2	Kerry 153:21 key 37:14 78:15 116:20	111:10  knowledge 49:5,6 52:9 57:9 123:15 141:1,22 143:18
158:18  Joe     131:10  John     187:24  Johnson     8:11	Judaism     150:18,24  judge     42:14     120:20     121:1,18  judges	161:6  JW13  173:10,11  JW14  191:14,15	<pre>Kerry     153:21 key     37:14     78:15     116:20 kicked</pre>	111:10  knowledge 49:5,6 52:9 57:9 123:15 141:1,22 143:18 148:11
158:18  Joe     131:10  John     187:24  Johnson     8:11  join	Judaism 150:18,24  judge 42:14 120:20 121:1,18  judges 175:9	161:6  JW13  173:10,11  JW14  191:14,15  JW2	Kerry 153:21 key 37:14 78:15 116:20	111:10  knowledge 49:5,6 52:9 57:9 123:15 141:1,22 143:18 148:11 159:21,25
158:18  Joe     131:10  John     187:24  Johnson     8:11	Judaism     150:18,24  judge     42:14     120:20     121:1,18  judges     175:9  judgment	161:6  JW13  173:10,11  JW14  191:14,15  JW2  22:22	<pre>Kerry     153:21 key     37:14     78:15     116:20 kicked</pre>	111:10  knowledge 49:5,6 52:9 57:9 123:15 141:1,22 143:18 148:11 159:21,25 169:1
158:18  Joe     131:10  John     187:24  Johnson     8:11  join     11:5 16:5	Judaism 150:18,24  judge 42:14 120:20 121:1,18  judges 175:9	161:6  JW13  173:10,11  JW14  191:14,15  JW2  22:22  JW3  52:16,18	<pre>Kerry     153:21 key     37:14     78:15     116:20 kicked     155:24,25</pre>	111:10  knowledge 49:5,6 52:9 57:9 123:15 141:1,22 143:18 148:11 159:21,25
158:18  Joe     131:10  John     187:24  Johnson     8:11  join     11:5 16:5	Judaism     150:18,24  judge     42:14     120:20     121:1,18  judges     175:9  judgment	161:6  JW13  173:10,11  JW14  191:14,15  JW2  22:22  JW3  52:16,18  JW4	<pre>Kerry     153:21 key     37:14     78:15     116:20 kicked     155:24,25 Kim</pre>	111:10  knowledge 49:5,6 52:9 57:9 123:15 141:1,22 143:18 148:11 159:21,25 169:1
158:18  Joe     131:10  John     187:24  Johnson     8:11  join     11:5 16:5  joined     11:14	Judaism     150:18,24  judge     42:14     120:20     121:1,18  judges     175:9  judgment     78:6	161:6  JW13  173:10,11  JW14  191:14,15  JW2  22:22  JW3  52:16,18	<pre>Kerry     153:21 key     37:14     78:15     116:20 kicked     155:24,25 Kim     8:10     34:16</pre>	111:10  knowledge 49:5,6 52:9 57:9 123:15 141:1,22 143:18 148:11 159:21,25 169:1 175:11
158:18  Joe     131:10  John     187:24  Johnson     8:11  join     11:5 16:5  joined     11:14  joining	Judaism     150:18,24  judge     42:14     120:20     121:1,18  judges     175:9  judgment     78:6  Julaidan	161:6  JW13  173:10,11  JW14  191:14,15  JW2  22:22  JW3  52:16,18  JW4	<pre>Kerry     153:21 key     37:14     78:15     116:20 kicked     155:24,25 Kim     8:10     34:16 kind</pre>	111:10  knowledge 49:5,6 52:9 57:9 123:15 141:1,22 143:18 148:11 159:21,25 169:1 175:11  knowledgeab
158:18  Joe     131:10  John     187:24  Johnson     8:11  join     11:5 16:5  joined     11:14	Judaism     150:18,24  judge     42:14     120:20     121:1,18  judges     175:9  judgment     78:6  Julaidan     89:1,8,11     90:10	161:6  JW13  173:10,11  JW14  191:14,15  JW2  22:22  JW3  52:16,18  JW4  65:23	<pre>kerry     153:21 key     37:14     78:15     116:20 kicked     155:24,25 Kim     8:10     34:16 kind     27:15</pre>	111:10  knowledge 49:5,6 52:9 57:9 123:15 141:1,22 143:18 148:11 159:21,25 169:1 175:11  knowledgeab le 183:25
158:18  Joe     131:10  John     187:24  Johnson     8:11  join     11:5 16:5  joined     11:14  joining	Judaism     150:18,24  judge     42:14     120:20     121:1,18  judges     175:9  judgment     78:6  Julaidan     89:1,8,11     90:10     91:7,10	161:6  JW13  173:10,11  JW14  191:14,15  JW2  22:22  JW3  52:16,18  JW4  65:23  JW5  76:2	<pre>Kerry     153:21 key     37:14     78:15     116:20 kicked     155:24,25 Kim     8:10     34:16 kind     27:15     42:19</pre>	111:10  knowledge 49:5,6 52:9 57:9 123:15 141:1,22 143:18 148:11 159:21,25 169:1 175:11  knowledgeab le 183:25  Koran
158:18  Joe     131:10  John     187:24  Johnson     8:11  join     11:5 16:5  joined     11:14  joining     11:14	Judaism     150:18,24  judge     42:14     120:20     121:1,18  judges     175:9  judgment     78:6  Julaidan     89:1,8,11     90:10	161:6  JW13  173:10,11  JW14  191:14,15  JW2  22:22  JW3  52:16,18  JW4  65:23  JW5	<pre>kerry     153:21 key     37:14     78:15     116:20 kicked     155:24,25 Kim     8:10     34:16 kind     27:15</pre>	111:10  knowledge 49:5,6 52:9 57:9 123:15 141:1,22 143:18 148:11 159:21,25 169:1 175:11  knowledgeab le 183:25



Korean	laid	170:1	118:12	lectures
170:6,10	124:4	175:14,16	120:11,15	17:15
		186:21	121:12,24	166:5
Kosovo	lane		123:18,20	
147:5,6	181:25	latest	128:15	lecturing
155:1	language	75:8	129:18	165:24
176:8	44:13	launch		led
180:20	45:15	132:4	lawyer	128:12
181:1	85:11,21	laundamina	15:6	145:17
Kownacki	117:13	<pre>laundering 91:23</pre>	116:24	left
8:16	119:24	91:23	118:6	53:11
KYC	122:6,7	104:5	120:23	
	126:14	104:5	122:23	78:20 157:6
60:21,24	151:13		123:19,24	164:4
	1	106:15 112:13,16	lawyers	179:10
L	languages	112:13,16	43:8	
	120:4		1	181:18,19
lack	large	119:1,2	lays	legal
14:11	46:24	121:5,24	140:7	9:16
60:12,15	124:25	125:1	lead	34:4,9
146:6	136:3	127:4,13	85:17	66:14
149:2	139:6	128:9,15,	98:10,11	120:1
149:2	144:4,7	18 129:18	151:13	123:14
100:22	largely	130:23	leading	146:18
lacks	62:17	139:25	77:18	legally
44:13	99:25	171:11	77:10	34:8
Laden	100:8	law	League	34.0
51:21,24	105:4,11	19:24	12:20	legitimate
52:4 53:6	160:2	113:12,23	55:4,15	64:23
54:11,16	182:23	114:19,22	58:3	65:6
55:1	102:23	115:22	59:21	137:24
58:17,25	largest	118:7	148:16	138:1,3
62:4,10	149:14	120:6,7,	learn	143:21
67:1	Las	23	45:13	length
69:23	190:12	121:20,22		26:7 43:2
71:24	191:2	122:1,4,	leave	55:5 56:
72:8 89:2		19,22,24	85:19,24	124:5
138:19	late	123:2,7,	86:22	136:6
145:18	57:21	8,14	87:16	160:3
152:6	95:11,15	130:22	174:25	166:19
155:14	96:25	145:1	Lebanon	
158:17	99:3	156:1	127:9	lengthy
170:25	106:12	laws		43:2
	127:2,21	94:23	lecture	157:9
Laden's	129:13	115:11,20	152:23	Let alone
54:3	130:1	115:11,20	lectured	103:15
	150:3	11/:3,0	165:15	



Case 1:03-md-01570-GBD-SN



TITTO. TOTTOTISE / N	llacks on Septem	index. MAGAmember		
168:14	140:13	manual	massive	Mayer
173:21	142:25	126:8	63:17	190:10,21
175:9	175:22	manually	145:15	Mcdonald
185:13	176:11,20	126:4	154:17	120:14
MAGA	184:20	120:4	mastered	120:14
187:22	188:4	March	119:24	meaning
187:22	190:1	67:6	119:24	50:21
magnified	makes	68:23	material	122:14,18
93:25	28:14	mark	17:15	123:3
Mahaffey	71:9	75:25	20:16	means
8:20	107:4	89:15	27:16,17	44:13
9:11,14	141:13	99:11	28:15	48:23
	141:13	103:19	29:7 43:4	50:12
main	145:25	161:4	76:20	72:10
78:1	making	173:10	82:16,24	102:19
maintained	42:16	191:14	83:5	126:8
32:16	47:3 87:5	191:14	104:8	149:20
	105:21	marked	148:14	149.20
major	122:23,25	16:10	182:6	meant
72:5	135:15	22:22	187:5	66:20
124:24	137:2,13	52:18	materials	146:9,15
156:6	144:4	65:23	18:18	measure
190:9	146:19	76:2,15	20:19,23	94:12
make	147:1,16	83:21	20:19,23	74.12
9:18	149:21	89:16	25:24 35:10	measures
11:12,25	172:9	93:20		98:6
12:15,16	173:25	99:12	46:25	104:4
13:11,14	Man.	103:20	77:13	105:19
33:12	Man	111:21	83:13	112:16
35:11	33:16	112:10	151:20	mechanics
39:24	142:6	161:6	163:17	56:13
44:23	manage	173:11	matter	
51:2	135:13	191:15	8:5 10:8	media
59:16	156:12	market	15:9	185:8
67:4	management	94:21	114:16	187:23
70:22	34:11	94:21	115:19	meet
78:12	34:11	marking	122:4	60:24
82:18	manages	52:15	130:7	115:15,16
88:18	135:17	marks	131:12	
107:3	mandate	82:16	146:7	meeting
119:12	112:17,19	02.10	151:18	130:2
128:14	113:2	martyrs	154:3	155:18
131:7,8		143:4,6	163:9	189:4
133:7,8	Manichean	147:19	makka	meetings
135:20,21	159:8	mass	matters	40:14
13,18,25	manner	145:14	131:13	
13,18,25	71:10	165:13	162:1	member
139:9	, _ • _ •			



43:20,23	mess	mis	84:14	monograph
100:20	119:8	41:15	96:15	126:25
104:3	119.0	41.13	99:7	129:6
156:16	methods	misapplicat	126:21	131:22
172:19	22:4	ion	136:19	131:22
1/2:19	Miami	27:18	176:1,2,9	${\tt monotheism}$
nembers	188:16,	mischaracte	177:23	150:7
29:25	17,18	rization	177:23	monotheisti
36:20	·	41:16	1/0:14	C
37:23	Michigan		monetary	150:6,8
45:19	98:11	mischaracte	113:15	
48:17	mid	rizing	123:4	month
49:13,15	32:14	27:9,10	money	109:1
51:5 72:6		misleading	49:20	months
95:8	Middle	35:3,6,9,	54:5	85:20
111:11	151:5	14	69:23	114:11
ombosshi-	152:2			174:10
nembership	162:5	missing	71:3,25	186:22
40:23	migrated	125:25	91:23	100:22
43:18	96:22	misspoke	101:19	morning
nemo	90.22	99:14	104:5	10:6,15,
74:12	Mike	154:9	105:19	22,23
	8:20	155:4	112:13,16	Moscow
nemorized	militant	155:4	114:5	
93:16	68:16	misstatemen	119:1,2	189:24
nemory	08:10	t	121:5,23	190:16
46:19	military	146:14	125:1	Mosque
90:6	154:1		127:13	153:2,6
106:13	169:11	misstates	129:18	
107:22	minimum	33:4	130:23	motive
143:5		65:10	131:13	137:18
182:24	95:7	80:24	137:7	move
	Ministry	mistake	142:19	54:5
nention	79:25	103:6	148:1,8	153:12
90:23	145:23	189:1	154:17	
91:7,8			169:21	moved
107:4	minute	mixed		78:20
111:6	38:7	34:14	monies	153:9
160:19	127:22	mixture	56:8	movement
nentioned	135:23	138:1	monitor	153:13,14
108:5	minutes		176:21	154:19,20
110:18	132:4,5	modest		
	173:1,2	149:20	monitoring	moves
130:21	192:13	Mogadishu	90:4	72:9
151:21		68:6	monkey	moving
152:9		155:10	158:9	60:18
165:4	140:19,23		monkeys	62:19
176:7	141:21	moment		



January 12, 2024 Index: Muhammad..number

101:20	97:25	natures	non-saudi	125:20
137:7	101:7	130:13	56:3 64:8	135:3
155:2	102:15	navsi	66:13	165:4
186:7	105:16	25:25	68:24	noted
Muhammad	116:4,5,7		69:4	125:24
150:11	MWL	NBL	noncomplian	
	9:25 13:9	10:12	ce	notified
mujahideen	15:13,16,	nearby	127:11	131:17
152:16	21	137:3	129:3	notions
multilatera				158:3
1	mystical	necessarily	noncooperat	notorious
117:11	160:5	53:17	ive	54:8,9
		97:21,24	168:12,13	62:11
multiple 103:8	N	112:23	nonenforcem	145:17
103:8		needed	ent	145:17
167:9	naming	82:25	129:10	notoriously
107:9	16:18	112:16	131:4	62:9
murder	10:10	127:12	nonfeasance	66:24
107:15	narrow	128:17	130:17	138:19
108:6	57:17	130:6	150.17	170:25
Muslim	nation	184:17	nongovernme	November
10:2	135:9	185:19	ntal	46:17
12:20,22		187:10	108:12	48:2
16:5	national	190:7	nonhumanita	114:6
55:4,15	67:9	nefarious	rian	127:21
58:3	95:20	69:7	68:15	
59:21	112:15			NSA
148:16	130:7,8	negotiating	norm	167:23
150:8	141:9,10	156:17	139:14	nudge
154:19	171:25	network	normal	67 <b>:</b> 7
36	nationally	75:4	45:16	Nuland
Muslims	95:21	newgnaner	137:6	182:4
68:3,4	Nations	newspaper 162:16	norms	183:10
133:12,13 143:24	55:16		139:22	
151:6	59:15,24	Nicole		number
151:6	60:6	8:14	North	20:7
	63:16	10:16	170:6,10	28:13
159:8	160:16	81:10	Northwest	47:16
180:20	171:7	Nicolle	8:9	61:9
mutated	172:21	8:16		63:17
152:5	180:2,6		note	67:16
mute		nineties	15:14	72:5
11:22	nature	149:15,21	48:10	76:16
12:1	42:22	159:12	82:15	84:6,8
	188:3	nodes	84:12	90:14
mutual		98:15	86:1,5	93:10



	tacks on Septem	·		
127:8	80:23	occurred	21 129:6	146:23
128:11,13	86:3,6,17	49:3	148:16	operation
129:24	87:19	152:15	oil	34:18
134:4,5	94:24	Oct	189:19	113:6
182:12	100:10	110:11		147:8
lunes	102:6		oligarch	
185:6,14,	104:24	October	189:7	operatives
17	105:12	17:1	oligarchs	24:23
17	110:14	108:23	186:7	operator
lwor	114:20	109:25	2001.	8:10
8:22	117:4	110:4,11	Omar	
	134:21	113:5	73:16	opine
	135:21	174:3	one-by-one	118:11
0	136:25	175:4	58:2	124:21
	152:20	odd		opining
' CONNOR	157:3		ongoing	120:11
9:1	176:14	82:16	68:11	
NEILL	185:25	87:11	online	opinion
	190:5	offense	17:22	121:11
65:4		111:15	32:13,15	122:20
66:15	objective	. 5.5 1	32:13,13	139:18,19
bama	167:6	offered	Ontario	144:5
156:9	obligation	15:23	121:12	167:5
	147:14	offhand	op-ed	185:16
bject	188:4	70:15	185:14	187:9
104:7	100.4	75:11		
bjected	obligations		187:9	opinions
87:16	15:2,7	office	opaque	14:23
	60:24	85:16	186:9,10	26:9
bjection	94:20	162:4		42:16
13:11,14	96:3	180:23	open	43:1
14:11	117:24	officers	51:25	opposed
15:8	118:14	140:20	161:15	126:8
20:21	133:16,21		180:23	141:18
29:15	134:19	offices	opening	141.10
32:6 33:4	136:22	69:5	125:17,25	opposing
35:4 38:3	143:24	official	129:20,22	42:23
39:20		22:12	131:6	151:25
42:11	occasionall	62:3	147:11,13	oppositiona
44:21	У			oppositiona 1
46:14	182:21	63:2,7,12 64:2	operated	168:11
47:25	occasions		31:16	100:11
49:8	173:20	127:1	operating	options
53:13	182:13	172:16	95:4	167:24
58:7	102.13	189:7	136:4	0.000.000
65:10	occur	officials		oranges
69:8,25	12:7	9:25	137:22	79:4
79:13		15:13,16,	143:21,23	order



DNATHAN M. V re: Terrorist At	tacks on Septem	ber 11, 2001	Inde	January 12, 202 ex: ordinarilypa
10:12,14	organized	overseer	23:3	175:11
17:2 51:1	156:15	85:17	30:12,14	178:17
60:24	original	oversight	32:2,10	183:23
82:25	-	-	36:16	189:10
85:19	17:6 68:7	85:16,18	37:1,13	191:20
88:3	98:16	owned	45:4,23	
92:13	108:8	33:14	46:4 66:3	partial
96:4 98:6	115:24	40:10	76:17,19,	52:9
115:19	150:10		20,23	142:23
118:25	158:4	ownership	81:12,15	188:9,10
139:3	178:13	101:9,12,	88:25	partially
140:5	originally	16,19	89:7 94:2	100:8
	57:11,14	186:11	96:16	105:4,11
rdinarily				
60:23	originated	P	99:23	participate
regon	155:14		106:20	d
_	Orthodox		112:12	118:22
141:15	159:4,5	p.m.	125:23	167:7,12
rgan	159:4,5	112:4,5	160:24	
144:7	Osama	128:2,3	161:12,	participati
	51:20	132:11	18,22	on
rganizatio	53:5	133:2	180:17	73:23
	54:11,15	173:5,6	paragraphs	parties
12:21	55:1	192:17,18	75:7	36:4
34:12	58:17,24	193:3	75:7	175:12
49:21	62:4		pardon	
64:19		pages	27:8	partisan
106:23	OTS	47:7,8	111:14	188:3
136:4	166:1	52:9 60:9		party
137:3	outgross	61:5	part	149:1
139:1	158:17	82:15	22:4	187:21,23
	130.17	93:4,9	65:18	107.21,23
rganizatio	outlining	175:4	68:12	passes
S	163:13	D =	77:8	12:3
49:20,21	outreach	Paige	87:25	nagging
57:12,16,		189:5	95:13,21	<pre>passing 79:18,19</pre>
20 66:9	127:17	Paige's	97:13	13:10,19
69:11	outsider	189:10	98:9	passive
108:12	164:3		113:12	160:6
133:22		pain	117:9	
137:8,10,	overseas	90:21	119:10	past
21,23	60:19	Palestine	120:24	67:11
144:7	66:13	154:25	123:12	114:11
145:16	68:24		134:5	117:18
149:10	69:5	paper	136:12	124:18
156:6	118:25	88:12	137:14,15	167:25
	145:1,3	130:19,20	141:24	168:2
rganize	146:20,23	paragraph	151:15	path
35:11,20	172:10	Paragraph	T)T:T)	Pacii



68:20 170:20 Patrick 11:15	<b>Pedia</b> 164:15	54 <b>:</b> 17	93:11	4 4 4 1 1
Patrick		55:2 59:3		133:11
	104:15	63:20	Petersburg	pipe
11:15	peers	88:13,20	188:17,	98:10
	98:5	92:22	20,21,23	pipes
12:2,6	peninsula	95:11	ph	98:20
175:20,24	162:5	104:11	25 <b>:</b> 25	
patterns			121:10	place
148:24	people	111:5	137:19	96:1,23
140.24	9:12,20	116:19	141:4	97:2
Paul	11:14	138:23	164:15	98:1,6,17
65:4	21:7 35:7	164:2	104:15	106:17
231166	70:24	166:17	phased	108:19
pause 11:13	72:4,19	172:15,18	34:6	130:6
127:19	78:4,15	189:14	philanthrop	145:7
14/:19	79:25	periods	ic	147:16
pay	83:2 90:5	114:23	32:20	158:6
86:23	101:18	157:11	3 <b>4:</b> 40	186:22
87:9	116:10,		Philippines	190:13,20
144:3	11,12	permanent	155:10	
	119:13	36:20	mhomo	places
paying	144:18	37:23	phone	36:1,3
67:5 85:8	148:4,13	pernicious	179:5	plain
86:14	151:14	127:20	180:9,11,	122:14,18
111:6	153:6,13	• _ 0	18	123:3
payments	155:15	person	photocopy	
33:12	164:3,5	35:18	177:19	plaintiffs
87:2,6	165:20	63:22		9:2
143:4,6		79:24	phrase	191:20
144:4	167:4,13	131:7,8	14:12	plausible
<u> </u>	169:14	136:7,9	phrases	88:15
PDF	170:8	137:4	138:24	
18:17	185:3	183:2,25		played
19:5	187:21,25	184:1	physical	151:5
52:23	190:13,14		16:13	152:8
84:5	perceived	personal	17:25	155:1
89:20,22	128:7	154:2	23:1	159:14
93:24	167:25	personally	picture	playing
99:23		29:25	165:3	154:23,24
101:6	perception	36:19	100.0	•
104:3	130:25	51:25	piece	155:1,5
105:2	168:5	142:8	88:11	pleased
161:10	perfectly	158:1	185:16	180:18
176:4	135:25		187:9	nlo+
177:20		persons	nice	plot
178:14,22	period	115:12	pigs	68:10
	15:18	171:5	151:15	155:10
peace	53:10,15,	pertain	pillars	point



NATHAN M. WINER re: Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001			January 12, 20 Index: pointingpreviou		
11:18	141:14	34:25	practiced	94:13	
14:19	159:2	position	115:1	present	
19:19	184:21	16:5	140:4	120:19	
29:14,17	188:7	19:14	practices	168:2	
30:4	14-4		33:7	100:2	
33:15	policies	38:17,18		presentation	
37:13	131:25	124:17,20	95:19	ns	
38:1,22	171:11	148:17	121:14	17:15	
40:22	policy	183:16	practicing		
41:17	28:5	184:17	19:24	presidency 106:22	
42:5,6	146:7	189:13		106:22	
43:17	153:9,23	190:6,8	precise	president	
44:6,15	167:8,10	191:5	128:8	97:14	
46:11		positions	precisely	185:4,10	
47:5,9	policymaker	190:3	64:25		
54:8	s		95:1	press	
57:18	159:12	Possibly	145:12	128:13	
	political	157:4		137:12	
69:15	68:2	post	predate	pressure	
71:5,8,9	150:14	22:16	53:18	127:6	
72:16	151:1	172:12	predecessor		
75:12	158:18	184:14	191:2	pretty	
76:11		185:1,16		60:16	
77:17	160:4,7	103:1,10	prefer	71:11	
83:1 87:6	171:20	potentially	17:13	111:11	
96:12	183:2	67:11	preferable	164:12	
107:24	politicized	135:3	65:13	176:12	
108:15	165:8,10	139:11	03.13	prevent	
129:19	166:13,14	151:24	preliminary	96:4	
139:25	188:2,3		13:14	138:17	
156:2		Poulakos	preparation		
176:14,23	politicizin	8:10		163:25	
191:4,9	g	Powers	20:16	164:18,23	
	166:10	141:8	53:2	prevented	
inting	politics		prepare	78:19	
161:21	184:4	practice	175:3	164:1	
ints		19:11,22,			
24:8	pools	24 114:10	prepared	preventing	
26:8,15	169:21	118:7	51:2	138:13	
39:18	poor	121:20,	preparing	164:12	
41:11	134:13	21,25	18:19	previous	
43:13	134.13	124:14,	22:6 48:3	184:3	
44:20	popping	21,22	55:22		
71:7	145:9	128:10,20	76:6,9	previously	
	nombic-	130:18	77:9	24:16	
72:11,17	portion	139:22	120:5	34:7	
77:18,22,	133:13	165:3	120:5	107:19	
23 78:1		105:3			



January 12, 2024 Index: primarily..provided

	itadita dii depterii	mack: primarily::provided		
168:9	prob	processes	prominent	95:22
primarily	50:11	102:16	149:14	171:24
57:17	problem	141:17	promote	protected
	13:18	167:3	189:18	82:22
priming 151:23	17:20	175:12	promoting	protection
151:23	68:13	produced	66:5,17	130:25
principal	87:21,22,	38:15	00:5,17	130:25
89:2	23 96:20	52:4	promptly	protections
principle	117:16	55:23	110:12	96:23
136:19	127:7,8	56:2 59:2	promulgated	protective
	128:6	60:11,20	106:8,9	10:12,13
principles	129:12	82:8	159:11	82:25
94:9	136:2	83:14		
106:5	148:9	89:23	proof	Protestant
108:15	159:14	172:6	78:8	159:3
prior	165:11	173:21	proofs	proved
30:1	166:1	174:15	190:9	165:7
33:10	167:24,25	175:16	proper	proven
36:20	168:1,17	productions	118:8	186:14
55:19,20	171:2	174:7	124:22	100:14
57:10	problematic		124;22	provide
58:9	146:6	professiona	properly	14:22
77:18	148:25	1	188:5	16:15
108:18	158:7	154:2	prophet	21:2,11
109:19	168:11	profile	150:10	24:14,17
113:3	170:17	38:23		31:13
121:24		program	proponent	39:23
125:13	problems	119:11	181:11	42:15
128:7	145:13	180:19	proposed	44:14
131:24	procedure	100:19	119:12	112:25
146:17	14:21	programs		117:17,
162:18	process	140:1	prosecute	21,22
176:6	28:17,18	165:21	77:5 78:4 79:10	121:10
priority	57:18	171:11	79:10 80:17,18	130:24
128:14	67:13	progress	142:3	167:23
156:18	80:10	67:4		180:24
	95:10	105:19	prosecution	183:6
private	99:1,3		140:24	184:9
19:10,22,	105:21	prohibition	prosecution	186:5
24 66:4	116:5,7	146:18	s	provided
79:2	141:17	projects	188:1	20:6
94:20	156:20	145:3		21:8,9
181:18	167:13,17	nwolifo	prostitutes	23:17
privileged	175:8	proliferati	189:24	24:8,18,
174:17,25	189:17	on 157.15	protect	24 25:19
		157:15	22:4	26:1



iii ie. Teliolist A	itacks on Septem	bei 11, 2001	ilidex. pi	ovidingquestions
28:25	published	purposes	120:24	question
32:12	163:12,17	16:10	127:5	13:13
44:1		22:22	128:13	14:16
56:8,19	puffing	34:20,25	130:6	26:21,22,
64:16	189:9	35:23	145:7	23 28:23
69:13,23	pull	36:6,10	147:15	30:24
71:24	16:7	40:24	148:23	31:11,24
78:2 86:6	83:16	41:14	176:2	32:8
92:10	93:15,17	52:18	185:16	40:12,13
128:24	99:10	53:10		41:9 42:3
174:5	111:20,23	60:17	Putin	56:15,22,
182:7,10,	134:11	65:23	188:21,	23 57:7
19 183:16	161:4	69:7 76:2	22,23	59:16
184:2	173:9,13	83:21	puts	61:4,14
186:3,6,		87:13	27:16	63:5 74:8
23	pulled	89:16		77:24
23	100:17	93:20	putting	81:2,4
providing	pulling	99:12	147:25	
40:11	27:11		158:21	91:17,20,
42:23	76:13	103:20		21,25
67:1	112:10	111:21	•	92:4 93:3
74:20,23		146:24	Q	96:9,10
84:17	pulls	150:14		97:5
88:12	172:8	161:6	qualified	101:3
122:20	purely	173:11	118:7	109:18,22
142:25	61:6	180:13	121:10,	117:6,13
	115:4	181:6	19,20,21,	118:3
proving	117:22	191:15	25 123:5,	130:3
74:21		pushed	6	139:23
provision	118:9	147:20		141:16
68:1	puritanical	167:4	qualifying	147:24
	154:10,20	185:2	121:9	148:10
provisional	157:17		qualitative	174:23
ly	158:3,6	pushing	47:3	questioned
10:10		147:8		_
public	purported	152:6	quality	187:17,19
19:10,13	74:1	156:6	156:23	questioning
21:6,21	91:22	put	181:9	28:9 83:9
136:13	purporting	26:8	quantity	questions
137:12	122:7	28:14	47:15	questions 13:5
162:22				
184:23,	purpose	35:18	queries	28:1,19,
24,25	46:21	80:8	28:2	24 29:11
	70:20	96:10,23	Quest	64:13
publicly	123:25	97:2,25	34:19	81:5 83:3
138:6	142:19	98:6	142:1	104:21
publish	147:17	106:12,17	162:18	115:9
_	180:12	108:19		116:20
185:14				



Case 1:03-md-01570-GBD-SN

#### January 12, 2024 Index: quietism..recommendation JONATHAN M. WINER In re: Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001

iii ie. Teliolist Ai	lacks on Septem	bei 11, 2001	macx. quictism	recommendation
125:12	26:13	114:14	9,10	recessed
136:15	40:12	119:22	159:16	18:9 73:6
192:12,	53:16	121:8	167:9,10	112:4
22,23	61:18	134:1,2,		128:2
	176:14	6,7,8	rebellion	132:11
quietism		157:22	153:1,2	173:5
160:8,9	raisers	159:1	rebuttal	192:17
quietist	23:18	168:24	163:3	reckless
159:18	24:4,25	172:17	recall	
quietly	37:11	178:15	53:1	187:13
160:6	raising	179:13	56:1,15,	recognition
100.0	67:2 71:3	184:1	25 58:22	67:19
quote	rango	192:25	72:2	130:11
23:11	range 53:12,14		75:14	recognize
24:1,2	83:12,14	reader	76:8,10	17:8 46:4
37:21		26:13	77:8	158:22
48:16	137:11 166:16	reading	77:8 82:11	178:22
51:24	100:10	51:8 70:2	84:25	1/0:15
69:22	ranked	150:21	84:25	recognizes
73:21	189:6,7	168:14,25	120:16	66:16
75:3 82:5	rape	reality	126:16	recollect
86:14	107:16	128:12	160:21	51:14
108:10	108:6	128:12	173:23	55:21
152:22	100.0	rears	173:23	
191:21	Rattey	127:21	174:13,19	59:25
quoted	8:23	reason	1/0:9	69:12
107:10	raw	26:7	receive	77:10
137:19	186:13	28:23	22:12,13	79:16
	187:2	30:25	183:12	82:14
quoting		96:19	received	108:13,14
48:25	reach	129:19	25:18	121:19
70:4 85:5	47:5	136:1	180:25	126:6
107:7	49:25	141:4,24	186:24	
191:18	reached	156:11		recollectio
	72:12	166:12	receives	n
R	90:4	167:1	187:11	22:15
	read		receiving	164:7,8,
	21:8 24:5	reasonable	60:17	11
raid		50:10,13	145:19	recom
70:23,25	26:19 28:23,24	148:2	174:13	97:8
raise	38:7 50:7	reasons	182:6,9	106:10
28:2	72:18	14:24	rogent	recommendat
40:13	90:18	31:15	recent	ion
92:25	101:11	115:5	167:11	
136:15	102:7,11,	127:5	recently	96:1
raised	17 105:16	136:6	115:1	98:23
raiseu	1/ 100.10	142:2,3,		
I .				



Case 1:03-md-01570-GBD-SN

January 12, 2024 Index: recommendations..regulation In re: Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001

n re: Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001			Index: recommendationsregulation		
recommendat	84:15	reentering	143:4	104:18	
ions	87:2,5	78:19	161:19	120:14,18	
92:25	112:3,6	ref	references	125:7	
93:5,6,10	128:1,5	109:17	12:16	refers	
94:8,9,	132:9		40:20	24:22	
17,22	133:4	refer	50:15	46:20	
95:2,6,25	145:8	12:17,23	105:15	103:10	
96:16	146:8	13:20,21	137:13		
97:6,8,	173:4,7,	14:1,5	179:4	reflect	
19,21,23	15	21:13		54:17	
98:5,25	192:14,	29:24	referencing	92:6	
99:6,25	16,19	30:5	49:4	reflected	
100:7	193:1	34:2,21	69:18	62:15	
101:10	recorded	35:23	179:1	176:25	
102:2,4	8:4 63:24	36:12	180:9		
103:3,5,		40:9	referred	refugees	
12	recordkeepi	74:5,12	13:25	181:2	
104:17,19	ng	103:3,5	35:25	regard	
105:4	139:2	137:10	36:2,5	10:18	
106:2,6,	records	146:10	44:20	110:25	
11,17,21,	58:19	151:2,14	74:10		
23 107:3,	59:1	158:20	137:9	regime	
8,10	62:15,17	reference	151:17	121:15	
108:11,25	119:14	23:1,2	153:14	regimes	
109:3,6,	131:20	32:4	155:2	157:14	
14,25	142:4,6	34:22	188:15	158:6	
110:5,9,	186:14,15	36:19		magi an	
13 112:22	187:4	49:23	referring	region 69:23	
113:4,7,		75:11	12:17,18		
9,22,23	redacted	79:21,22	13:1,16,	127:10	
119:13	21:22	90:10	21 14:3,	regional	
122:16	46:24,25	93:9	6,9 24:1,	98:2	
124:2	76:17	108:20,23	2 30:19	regionalist	
reconstruct	82:16	109:17	31:8	158:4	
ing	83:7	110:10	32:24		
164:20	175:10	113:4	33:1,2,	regular	
104.20	redactions	142:25	23,25	69:24	
reconvened	21:25	143:3	36:4,11,	71:25	
133:2	22:3	149:23	12 37:2	92:17	
record	82:17,18,	161:2	45:25	regulated	
10:16,25	21 173:20	177:18	50:24	95:9	
14:10	175:6	179:2	64:19,21		
15:14		180:17	82:23	regulation	
18:3,6,8,	reduce		83:13	98:13	
11 38:14	152:23	referenced	94:8	114:8,12	
73:5,8	reentered	55:7,25	102:8	115:2	
	181:20,21	95:6	103:10	122:11	



123:11	relate	188:20	relief	removed
130:8	82:21		12:21	12:7
131:17	118:12	relationshi ps	147:6	168:4
egulations	related	115:12	180:19	repeat
114:3,4	40:11	118:1	religion	59:16
115:6,20	105:14	144:21	151:4,25	63:5
119:20	120:15	148:15	158:5	repeatedly
122:2,3	136:14	released	159:2	109:15
123:4	162:1,8,9	21:5,6	religions	109.13
124:1	169:21	74:13	150:19	report
127:4	176:14	74:13	157:22	12:19
128:18	183:1	relevance	157:22	14:20
129:4,11	relates	81:4	rely	15:2,24
130:18,	90:1 92:4	relevant	20:19	16:8,14,
20,24	90:1 92:4	12:24	21:25	25 17:6,
139:14,	relating	40:18	22:8,13	9,13
15,16	32:2	53:10,15	38:22	18:16,19
egulator	33:17	77:17	40:24	20 19:2
19:19,20	40:22	79:11	41:3,20	20:15,17
91:9,10	43:18	125:3	42:3,9	20 21:2,
	59:3	149:3	43:14	24 22:4,
92:3,11, 18 97:11,	82:12		73:25	6,14
20 106:6,	104:8	reliability	75:9	23:3,4,6
9,10,16	113:10	46:16	77:14	7,10,11,
113:9,15	114:5	47:11,13	120:2	16,17
117:15,24	148:23	188:7	185:24	24:9,13,
122:4	149:3	reliable	relying	14 25:8,9
123:20	162:13	21:16	26:5	26:6,7,
	175:12	24:9,15,	72:19	10,11,13,
regulators	176:8	16 28:11	75:14	14,18,19,
116:9,10	180:17	29:14	81:20	25 27:3,
regulatory	relations	38:2	104:17	10,11,12,
96:6	153:22	44:20	117:12	13,14,23
98:14	169:20	46:12		28:16,18
114:9,22		71:5,8	remember	29:1,2,7,
116:12	relationshi	165:7,18	38:8,11	9,12,20
117:18	р	187:23	62:25	30:16,17,
121:15	58:11	1 / -1-1	67:5	22 31:2
	74:2	reliably	70:15,16	32:1
Reid	88:19	187:1	169:16	33:5,24
164:14	96:7	relied	182:12	34:20,25
eiterated	115:7	18:18	remembering	35:24
131:1	119:3,4	20:15,23	154:15	36:6,9,
	124:1	41:6		18,24,25
rejecting	169:11	77:13	removal	37:7,8,
150:7	175:10	91:17	154:6	10,14,18,



	acks on Septem			00.0
21 39:2,	81:2,8,17	reported	represent	90:2
17,18	82:2,17,	120:8	8:13 9:24	101:16
40:19,22,	24 85:3	140:18	13:8,23	115:15,1
25 41:5,	86:13	172:2	15:15	117:3,12
10,13,14,	88:6,9,	185:15	54:21	144:6
18 42:4,	22,25	191:2	126:22	requires
8,10,14,	90:23	reporter	representat	88:7
22 43:1,	91:7,8,	8:9 9:4	ion	
2,12,14	14,16	191:1	91:4	reserve
44:5,7,	92:25			15:22
12,25	93:2,5,7	reporting	representat	97:14
45:5,11,	101:1,4	24:16	ions	116:13
22,25	103:3,5,	37:15	122:24	reserves
46:19,20,	10 104:18	40:17	163:2	192:25
22 48:4,	105:18,25	64:9	represented	
8,11,16,	106:20	92:20	20:6	reserving
25 49:12	107:6,11	100:6	123:10	10:18
50:6,20	108:21	115:11		resign
51:1,4,	109:5,7	162:17	Republican	38:17
13,15,20	116:18	181:10	187:22	
53:2,4,17	120:5,9	reports	request	resigned
55:3,6,	123:22	15:17,18	85:10,24	39:6
22,25	124:2,4,9	20:20,22,	87:14,15,	43:22
58:15,17,	125:13,15	25 21:3,	16 91:9	resistance
22 59:5,	128:24	8,10,20,	182:14	67:16
10,11,18	129:1,5,8	25 22:8,		153:12
60:2,22,	131:21	13 25:14,	requesting	154:21
25 61:18	136:7,16	21,22	69:6	156:22,2
62:1	137:11	27:5,19	requests	157:1
63:1,6,11	139:19		85:19	
64:1,7,	141:24	28:8,21,		resisting
13,24	143:5	22,24	require	67:15
69:3,12,	149:23	43:14	125:6	resources
17 70:9	152:11,15	44:10	149:7	163:24
71:22	158:12	45:1,6,	required	166:23
73:12,15	160:19,23	14,18	14:22	
74:6	163:12	51:17	92:1,2	respect
75:8,9,	167:19	72:6	128:22	15:15,22
14,15,17,	173:19	138:3	140:5	75:9
20,21,23	174:2,10,	140:8	141:18	129:3,18
		151:17	182:16	140:23
76:5,6,9, 11 13 15	15 175:3, 14 180:25	162:22	102.10	157:10
11,13,15		163:3	requirement	190:3
77:9,12,	183:1,22	172:16	133:12	respects
16,17,19	186:18,19	182:7,9,	191:22	165:2
79:12,17	189:1,4	11,19	requirement	100:2
80:5,6, 15,21,24	190:4	184:2	requirement	respond



46:17	retain	185:19	Robert	Russia's
101:3	119:9		11:7	182:1
149:6	183:7	reviewing		<b>5</b>
167:16		18:21	role	Russian
	Reuben	34:25	74:1	183:4
esponded	8:18	39:13	145:25	184:1
81:5	reveal	53:1 76:8	148:10	188:16
91:11	21:1,18	77:8	188:4	189:6,7
esponse	revelations	82:11	roles	
90:1,3	136:13	87:20	144:17	S
91:16	130:13	125:17	146:4	
92:21	review	174:21	***	S-A-A-R
93:3	43:3 52:3	175:5	room	
95:13	54:20	reviews	83:1	29:25
138:7	55:23	118:23,24	172:24	30:10
esponsibil	58:2 69:9	rid	routinely	SAAR
-	72:21		24:12	29:24
. <b>ty</b>	83:2	158:14	row	30:5,9,
112:13	84:20	right-hand	90:24	14,15,18
esponsive	89:24	24:4	90:24	31:8,9,1
109:21	90:19	rights	rows	32:3,4,
est	92:5	15:22	90:10,15	13,18
	98:23	15:22	royal	33:1,2,8
172:24	112:14	risk	153:7,8	11,13,17
restricted	122:9,13,	96:5,20	133.770	23 34:5,
145:2	14 126:3,	130:12	rule	7,16,21
estructuri	19 142:12	136:6	14:20	35:1,7,
ng	148:22	138:17	15:3	17,23
162:18	161:25	139:24	123:7	36:2,5
	reviewed	140:1,2,3	ruled	40:9
result		144:2	121:9	140:12,
35:6	28:20	169:16		13,19
102:15	38:12	171:10,12	rules	143:9,10
107:25	52:5	risks	14:21	13,15
157:15	56:2,14	138:6	125:6	144:12,
172:4	58:20,21	154:2	149:7	13,19
results	60:8,9	170:12	rulings	146:15
118:23	61:10		43:8	148:12
	63:18	Riyadh		178:9,10
resumed	83:12,15	67:17	run	11
18:10	92:14	168:7	172:23	
73:7	100:14	170:19	running	SAAR's
112:5	101:1	172:1	79:25	35:8
128:3	129:16,21	riyals		sacred
173:6	131:15	_	Russia	151:3
192:18	148:14	61:6,8	181:23	158:18
	171:4	176:25 177:1	182:1	



Saddam	sanctioning	85:7	153:2,7,8	91:3
165:20	57 <b>:</b> 19	87:24	154:9	176:2
	156:7	92:15,21	159:11	
afe	169:4	103:24	160:20	scroll
47:19		104:3	161:24,25	89:20
127:12	sanctions	105:2,10,	162:3,6,	90:11
ake	92:2	18	13 169:3,	161:14
39:2	141:12	106:14,19	23,24	176:3
	156:4	107:21	172:1,5,8	177:14
alafi	168:1,2,4	113:15,	177:2	Sean
153:10	169:9,19	20,21,23,	191:23	8:25 9:11
alafis	170:1,3,	24 114:3,		173:15
158:20,25	4,5,6	4,8,14,	Saudi's	
	171:22	18,19	168:8	Sean's
alafism	sat	115:22	Saudis	176:23
150:12	20:1		67:14,18	sec
158:23	20.1	117:21,	138:23	141:9
159:19	satisfies	22,23	149:18	
alafist	15:2	118:6,7,	166:15	Sechin
157:17	Saudi	9,17		189:5,8,9
	31:10,20	119:17	168:17,23	secondary
AMA	32:3,25	120:6,7	170:16,23	153:17
90:2,4		122:1,2,	saura	133.17
92:11,17	33:10,18	4,20,21,	137:18	secrecy
106:6,9,	34:9	24 123:4,		136:12
10,12	35:17	7,11,19,	scholar	142:6
113:16,	54:4	22,24	150:21	secret
20,21,24	55:9,12	124:9	160:9	136:10
116:20	56:12,17	126:20,23	school	130.10
119:19	57:1	127:3,5,	165:25	secretary
124:1	58:5,12,	7,15	190:22	65:4
128:21	16,23	128:16,20		66:15
129:2,4,	59:6,12,	129:3,11,	scope	155:17
11 130:24	19 60:3	23 130:21	44:6 96:9	182:4
131:4,16,	62:3,8,	138:21	105:18	section
17,23,24	10,12,13,	139:15,16	109:7,16	27:22
144:6	24 63:2,	142:8	112:19,21	29:19,21
2262 1	7,12	143:11,	120:22,25	31:25
AMA's	64:2,10	12,14	Scott	
90:2	65:5	144:14,	9:1	36:23
anabel	66:3,6,	24,25		46:24
40:11	16,22,25	145:2,12,	screen	69:17
44:4	67:3,8,24	16,18,20	23:23	73:12,15,
	68:20,25	146:18	52:13	20,25
anction	69:5	147:6	76:14	74:18
170:2	74:20,22	148:2	83:17	75:1
anctioned	77:25	149:14	84:24	76:24
90:6	78:14,21	150:13	85:14	79:23



85:8	51:5	Sequeira	shareholder	82:15
88:9,22	148:15	8:18	40:10	shown
91:13,16	155:18	sequence	Sharia	39:19
92:4 93:1	sense	33:21	85:15,17	183:8
125:15	31:3		0h - 41-h	
191:11	35:11	series	Sheikh	shows
sector	113:1	75:7	146:5,10,	
19:10,13	153:25	155:5	12 148:12	•
79:2	163:10	185:3	178:1,12	54:22
181:18		service	Sheps	178:10
	sentence	114:24	11:7	shut
sectoral	26:5,6,18	set	shift	54:5 80:2
150:23	27:24	32:15	152:12,14	145:9
sects	28:5,14,	34:15	160:10	155:24
159:3	15 49:14	91:3	173:15	164:18
security	50:7 51:7	96:17		190:18
67:9	66:1,2	112:15	shifted	side
130:7,8	70:2,4,6	122:15	164:25	79:3
141:10	74:3	124:2	Shoe	165:4
162:19	89:4,8	136:7	164:13	170:13,14
162:19	94:7	139:21		170:13,14
171:25	109:11	144:21	short	1/9:10
189:18	127:25	157:18	134:12	side-by-
109:10	191:21	137.10	184:10	side
seek	sentences	setting	shorthand	122:6
28:1	26:6	24:20	14:8	sign
seeking	separate	82:23	36:13	192:25
26:8	17:12	174:25	.1	
114:11	31:21	seventh	shortly	signatory
136:9	97:15	150:5	162:3	131:7,9
	135:24	154:10	shot	signed
selection		157:18	170:24	111:12
80:10	separately	159:10	show	178:1,11
senate	16:5		54:15	
95:15	140:18	sexually	55:1 56:7	significant
153:22	September	190:19	61:3,14,	68:12
154:3	8:5 14:7	shape	15 62:17	78:24
189:11	81:21	127:6	70:1	79:1
Constan	89:14	shards	126:16	similar
Senator	91:25	163:16	142:15	127:11
153:21	92:3	T02:T0		158:16
send	109:19	share	showed	190:11,12
43:23	125:14	182:3,22	91:12	similarly
senior	182:25	shared	92:14,20	54:17
48:16	183:9	182:21	116:16	
49:12,15		107:71	showing	Simon



10: 10:10:10:71	tacks on Septem			ex: simplestarte
151:2	181:16	58:1	160:3	squad
imple	situation	source	187:1	162:5,6,
31:14	29:1	21:14,15,	speaks	12
33:7,8	138:13	16,18,19	55:6	St
61:22	151:12	24:12,15,		188:17,
118:3	181:1	19 26:4	special	20,21,23
	186:21	29:4 47:8	103:12	
implificat		70:5,6	110:5	staff
on	situations	70.3,6	113:4	74:13
181:13,14	117:7	71:21,23	127:16	131:21
imultaneou	size	185:24	167:12	148:13
	152:23		specialist	155:18
145.24	102:20	187:6	123:1,2	staffer
145:24	slightly	sources	123:1,2	153:4
imultaneou	84:9	21:1,6,	specific	
ly	92:12	17,21	13:11	154:4
144:18		22:4,7,	71:11	stand
145:22	small	17,18	91:24	179:15
	90:19	24:8 47:8	147:17	
ir	131:10,11	74:10	163:5	standard
11:19	147:25	188:15	167:14	27:15
14:20	148:18	189:5,13,		50:14
18:17	snatches		specificall	78:8
27:22	163:16	14	У	124:15,22
29:19		sourcing	13:17	126:19,22
31:17,19	so-called	21:7,9,	53:3	141:23
32:2	69:19	11,12	93:1,6	standards
35:13,22	social	25:3 28:3	108:5	95:5,7,18
39:15	185:7	29:3	specificity	97:2
43:11	105.7	47:16		106:8,9
44:9	society	165:19	14:11	•
51:20	157:25		60:13	116:25
52:24	solacious	Southern	spent	118:14
56:15,22	185:22	8:6 77:3	95:14	119:2
57:4		Soviet	114:6,7	121:5
64:7,18	189:23	153:18	115:23	122:8,17
66:1	190:15	154:6	123:16	127:13
69:15,17	Somali	134.0	150:25	128:9,21
76:19	65:3	Soviet's	151:1	129:17
	G 7	157:6	189:20	130:5,10
81:15	Somalia	spare	100.20	141:20
82:21	66:6	54:20	spoke	154:11
85:3	sound	J4.4U	120:7	standpoint
133:24	12:1,7	speak	sponsored	_
135:12		119:21,23	146:2	163:7
136:18	sounds	anosisis.	140:2	started
176:6	34:22	speaking	sponsoring	11:9
177:2	54:23	71:6 99:8 152:10	146:1,2	12:14



143:20	stated	33:3,12,	153:19	Steve
171:4	49:10,11	13 34:6,	155:6	8:10
1/1:4	66:21	18 35:18	160:13	151:2
tate	118:11	55:16	163:23	131.2
8:13			164:24	stipulate
10:24	121:7	59:15,24 60:6 62:9		100:24
19:16	statement		171:7,17,	stop
20:15	14:22	63:15		172:9
21:4	22:20	65:3	19,25	184:7
22:11	32:11,15	66:12,19	172:21	104.7
51:23	39:1,4	67:2,7,10	180:2,5	stopped
57:15	41:6	68:19	states'	148:7
62:10	44:15,23,	73:17,22	117:15	stories
67:22	24 48:24	78:18,19		190:2
74:18	50:9 51:3	79:7,10	stating	100.2
75:1 82:5	53:5,8,20	82:2,6	37:21	story
89:1,7	56:4,16,	85:9	85:6	137:16,17
94:18	25 65:11	86:15	102:5	190:21
95:16	66:11,16,	88:20	stats	strain
96:25	20 68:22	94:22	102:1	159:18
97:7,8,9	71:21	95:1		139:10
99:3	74:3	97:8,18	status	strains
109:6	86:12,13	98:23,24	34:4	158:21,
113:7,8,	102:8	99:5,20,	90:11,12,	22,23
12 114:12	105:9	24 100:7,	16 97:12	atrotogia
		20 101:7,	117:8	strategic
116:6,8, 10 117:6	110:4 130:2	17,20	statute	169:10
		103:1	78:13	street
123:6	143:25	104:18	106:15,16	8:9
125:2	192:9	107:23		148:18
127:2	statements	112:12	stay	
129:13	25:8,12,	115:9	177:22	strengtheni
130:15	17 28:8,	117:2,7,	Steele	ng
138:19	11,12	9,14	181:12,	105:19
146:1	52:3	118:12,	17,22	stringer
155:12,	55:23	14,15	183:22	190:24,25
17,18	56:2	121:21	184:10,	
158:13,	91:10	124:23	19,21	structurall
14,15	129:6	138:4,5	185:21,23	У
164:7,10	139:8	140:14,	187:8,17,	33:9
170:15	149:8	19,24	25 188:8	structure
173:20	168:13	142:5	189:22	16:19
181:18,		143:10,15	190:3,4	21:10
19,20,21,	states	144:16	190:3,4	
24 182:4	14:7	145:5	step	structuring
183:6,8,	23:17	146:1	156:18	33:21
25 189:7	31:20	148:6	steps	137:14
	32:5,18	152:8,16	25:7	studied



January 12, 2024 Index: studies..tab

150:15,	sufficient	sum	supporter	Syria
16,17,18,	44:14	176:25	64:5	127:10
19 160:2	63:19			G
	167:6	<pre>summarizes 87:21</pre>	<pre>supporting 66:8</pre>	<b>Syrian</b> 170:5
studies		87:21	152:16	1/0:5
86:7	suggest	summary		system
study	51:7,8,9,	39:23	156:13,25	95:22,23
72:18	23 56:16	72:22	supposed	96:20
85:9,19,	63:21	summer	90:19	97:25
20,24	83:16 87:5	186:6	128:22	98:9,18,
86:15,22		100.0	139:22	19 108:17
87:15	111:20	supervise	171:12	123:16
studying	136:11	95:20	surely	130:14
86:23	146:24	supervision	80:6	159:22
00:23	suggesting	95:12,18	00:0	167:21
subject	180:22	172:10	surprise	169:15,17
10:13		1/2.10	45:13	170:11
12:24	suggestion	supervisors	54:18	
15:24	133:17	95:3,8,20	174:11	systemic
82:25	suggests	96:2,3,4	surprised	96:5,20
143:16	49:24	97:20	54:10	130:12
ab.i.o.a.b.io	137:17	supplement	54:10	169:16
subjective 123:17	181:5	44:7	suspected	systems
123:17	Sulaiman		162:8	96:6
subjects	30:6,8,19	supplemente	suspicious	97:16
11:3		đ	_	
	32:16,17,	<b>d</b> 15:18	49:20	
submit	32:16,17, 21 36:13,	15:18	49:20 133:17	T
<pre>submit 15:17</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22	15:18 support	49:20 133:17 135:1,3,	T
<pre>submit   15:17 submitted</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16	15:18  support 65:8 67:1	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19	T tab
<pre>submit 15:17</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15	49:20 133:17 135:1,3,	
<pre>submit   15:17 submitted   174:2</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19	tab
<pre>submit   15:17 submitted   174:2 subpoenaed</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23 43:18	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4 76:21	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19 136:24	<b>tab</b> 16:7
<pre>submit    15:17 submitted    174:2 subpoenaed    185:5</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23 43:18 49:19	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4 76:21 88:13	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19 136:24 swear 9:4	tab 16:7 22:25
<pre>submit    15:17 submitted    174:2 subpoenaed    185:5 subsequent</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23 43:18 49:19 51:8 72:7	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4 76:21 88:13 142:25	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19 136:24 swear 9:4 swiftly	tab 16:7 22:25 23:2,7
<pre>submit    15:17 submitted    174:2 subpoenaed    185:5</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23 43:18 49:19 51:8 72:7 135:4	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4 76:21 88:13 142:25 145:20	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19 136:24 swear 9:4 swiftly 110:12	tab 16:7 22:25 23:2,7 52:12
<pre>submit    15:17 submitted    174:2 subpoenaed    185:5 subsequent    45:1</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23 43:18 49:19 51:8 72:7 135:4 140:12	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4 76:21 88:13 142:25 145:20 153:9	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19 136:24 swear 9:4 swiftly 110:12 switch	16:7 22:25 23:2,7 52:12 65:22
<pre>submit    15:17 submitted    174:2 subpoenaed    185:5 subsequent    45:1 substance</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23 43:18 49:19 51:8 72:7 135:4 140:12 142:14	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4 76:21 88:13 142:25 145:20 153:9 154:1	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19 136:24 swear 9:4 swiftly 110:12 switch 73:1	tab 16:7 22:25 23:2,7 52:12 65:22 75:25
<pre>submit    15:17 submitted    174:2 subpoenaed    185:5 subsequent    45:1 substance    11:10</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23 43:18 49:19 51:8 72:7 135:4 140:12 142:14 144:10	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4 76:21 88:13 142:25 145:20 153:9 154:1 156:25	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19 136:24 swear 9:4 swiftly 110:12 switch	tab 16:7 22:25 23:2,7 52:12 65:22 75:25 83:20
<pre>submit    15:17  submitted    174:2  subpoenaed    185:5  subsequent    45:1  substance    11:10    12:14</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23 43:18 49:19 51:8 72:7 135:4 140:12 142:14 144:10 146:12,13	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4 76:21 88:13 142:25 145:20 153:9 154:1 156:25 160:20	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19 136:24 swear 9:4 swiftly 110:12 switch 73:1 88:21	tab  16:7 22:25 23:2,7 52:12 65:22 75:25 83:20 84:2,22
<pre>submit     15:17 submitted     174:2 subpoenaed     185:5 subsequent     45:1 substance     11:10     12:14     184:9</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23 43:18 49:19 51:8 72:7 135:4 140:12 142:14 144:10 146:12,13 147:7	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4 76:21 88:13 142:25 145:20 153:9 154:1 156:25 160:20 180:19	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19 136:24 swear 9:4 swiftly 110:12 switch 73:1 88:21 switching	tab 16:7 22:25 23:2,7 52:12 65:22 75:25 83:20 84:2,22 89:15
<pre>submit    15:17  submitted    174:2  subpoenaed    185:5  subsequent    45:1  substance    11:10    12:14    184:9  substantial</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23 43:18 49:19 51:8 72:7 135:4 140:12 142:14 144:10 146:12,13 147:7 148:12	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4 76:21 88:13 142:25 145:20 153:9 154:1 156:25 160:20	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19 136:24 swear 9:4 swiftly 110:12 switch 73:1 88:21 switching 191:10	tab  16:7 22:25 23:2,7 52:12 65:22 75:25 83:20 84:2,22 89:15 93:18
<pre>submit    15:17 submitted    174:2 subpoenaed    185:5 subsequent    45:1 substance    11:10    12:14    184:9 substantial    95:13</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23 43:18 49:19 51:8 72:7 135:4 140:12 142:14 144:10 146:12,13 147:7 148:12 177:3	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4 76:21 88:13 142:25 145:20 153:9 154:1 156:25 160:20 180:19	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19 136:24 swear 9:4 swiftly 110:12 switch 73:1 88:21 switching 191:10 sworn	tab  16:7 22:25 23:2,7 52:12 65:22 75:25 83:20 84:2,22 89:15 93:18 99:10,14
<pre>submit    15:17  submitted    174:2  subpoenaed    185:5  subsequent    45:1  substance    11:10    12:14    184:9  substantial</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23 43:18 49:19 51:8 72:7 135:4 140:12 142:14 144:10 146:12,13 147:7 148:12	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4 76:21 88:13 142:25 145:20 153:9 154:1 156:25 160:20 180:19 191:23	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19 136:24 swear 9:4 swiftly 110:12 switch 73:1 88:21 switching 191:10	tab  16:7 22:25 23:2,7 52:12 65:22 75:25 83:20 84:2,22 89:15 93:18 99:10,14 103:19
<pre>submit     15:17 submitted     174:2 subpoenaed     185:5 subsequent     45:1 substance     11:10     12:14     184:9 substantial     95:13     138:9</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23 43:18 49:19 51:8 72:7 135:4 140:12 142:14 144:10 146:12,13 147:7 148:12 177:3	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4 76:21 88:13 142:25 145:20 153:9 154:1 156:25 160:20 180:19 191:23  supported	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19 136:24 swear 9:4 swiftly 110:12 switch 73:1 88:21 switching 191:10 sworn 9:8 10:4	tab  16:7 22:25 23:2,7 52:12 65:22 75:25 83:20 84:2,22 89:15 93:18 99:10,14 103:19 111:20
<pre>submit     15:17  submitted     174:2  subpoenaed     185:5  subsequent     45:1  substance     11:10     12:14     184:9  substantial     95:13     138:9  sued</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23 43:18 49:19 51:8 72:7 135:4 140:12 142:14 144:10 146:12,13 147:7 148:12 177:3 178:1,12  Sulaiman's	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4 76:21 88:13 142:25 145:20 153:9 154:1 156:25 160:20 180:19 191:23  supported 48:17	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19 136:24  swear 9:4  swiftly 110:12  switch 73:1 88:21  switching 191:10  sworn 9:8 10:4  sympathetic	tab  16:7 22:25 23:2,7 52:12 65:22 75:25 83:20 84:2,22 89:15 93:18 99:10,14 103:19 11:20 112:10 161:5
<pre>submit     15:17  submitted     174:2  subpoenaed     185:5  subsequent     45:1  substance     11:10     12:14     184:9  substantial     95:13     138:9</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23 43:18 49:19 51:8 72:7 135:4 140:12 142:14 144:10 146:12,13 147:7 148:12 177:3 178:1,12	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4 76:21 88:13 142:25 145:20 153:9 154:1 156:25 160:20 180:19 191:23  supported 48:17 49:13,15	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19 136:24 swear 9:4 swiftly 110:12 switch 73:1 88:21 switching 191:10 sworn 9:8 10:4	tab  16:7 22:25 23:2,7 52:12 65:22 75:25 83:20 84:2,22 89:15 93:18 99:10,14 103:19 11:20 112:10 161:5 173:9
<pre>submit     15:17  submitted     174:2  subpoenaed     185:5  subsequent     45:1  substance     11:10     12:14     184:9  substantial     95:13     138:9  sued</pre>	32:16,17, 21 36:13, 19 37:22 38:1,16 39:6 40:9,23 43:18 49:19 51:8 72:7 135:4 140:12 142:14 144:10 146:12,13 147:7 148:12 177:3 178:1,12  Sulaiman's	15:18  support 65:8 67:1 68:1,2,15 75:4 76:21 88:13 142:25 145:20 153:9 154:1 156:25 160:20 180:19 191:23  supported 48:17 49:13,15 138:20	49:20 133:17 135:1,3, 8,19 136:24  swear 9:4  swiftly 110:12  switch 73:1 88:21  switching 191:10  sworn 9:8 10:4  sympathetic	tab  16:7 22:25 23:2,7 52:12 65:22 75:25 83:20 84:2,22 89:15 93:18 99:10,14 103:19 11:20 112:10 161:5



	tacks on Septem			
191:13	162:3,20,	50:23	151:4,8	24 51:6,
ackle	21,24	133:6,10	160:21	11,16
104:5	tasking	146:16	162:9	73:22
105:19	167:22,23	149:23	165:2	156:14
		156:9	terrorist	test
aking	taskings	terminology	8:5 54:8	125:3
125:12	28:25	13:2,4	57:11,12,	
131:18	tax	14:15	16,19	testament
190:2	111:7	30:5,14	65:9 66:8	134:5,6
aliban	teachings		68:10,11	157:23
154:8	66:5,18	terms	69:7	testified
alk	00:5,10	11:11,12	78:18	9:10
29:10	team	12:16	89:2	121:4
	17:20	50:16	103:13	testimony
71:18 125:16	127:14	60:16 62:16	104:5	15:22,23
127:10	129:14		105:20	108:22
127:10	teams	97:10	106:16	120:25
alked	127:5	114:5	108:18,19	121:17
145:13	128:12	115:3	110:6,10,	139:12
169:16		119:8	13,17,25	171:13,10
alking	tech	123:3,8	111:1,13	1/1:13,10
30:13	11:16	142:21	112:18,24	text
108:16	23:22	143:4	113:1,5	96:12,13
122:5	technician	151:9,23	126:25	134:6
125:11	23:24	170:3	129:7	150:10
138:6	65:21	territories	130:21	158:4
143:3	83:24	152:3	133:17	textualist
144:13	178:23	terror	136:15	158:5
147:24	the state of the state of	151:3	140:9,16	
168:20	techniques	158:18	142:16,17	theft
170:8	23:13		143:1,7,8	107:14
	112:14	terrorism	147:10	108:6
alks	ten	57:21	151:13	theological
102:1	157:24	64:5	152:8	150:21
arbutton	172:25	68:17	155:6,9	thing
9:1	173:2	76:21	156:13	-
	192:13	91:24	157:2	41:1,8
arget	tenet	106:24	164:1,15	108:2
110:10	134:17	107:11,	167:8,14	115:17 130:24
141:18,19	17.1/	13,24	168:7	
162:6	tenure	108:4	172:3,11	138:18
argets	127:3	110:18,25	181:6	156:4
68:6	term	111:2,10,	terrorists	things
171:9	13:15	14 137:16	48:18	39:25
ask	30:14	140:6	49:6,17	43:23
161:24	43:11,12	146:1,3	50:4,17,	44:18



ONATHAN M. WINER  re: Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001			January 12, 2020 Index: thinkingtransaction		
45:2	79:6,16	97:16	45:15	top	
47:17	thwarted	100:19	46:7	178:6	
79:15	164:16	102:11	102:7	179:16,22	
97:1	104:10	104:20	103:8	topic	
125:5	tied	106:14	184:6	91:19	
139:10	140:14	111:5	189:6	160:1	
140:14	170:25	113:20	timetables	100:1	
144:14	ties	114:7,8		topics	
160:2,5	47:1,21,	115:22,23	157:10	11:4 80:7	
169:12	23,24	119:15	timing	total	
170:16	48:5 49:5	120:3	157:5,7	24:11	
172:2	188:22	124:10	167:17	50:20	
175:10	100:22	126:23	170:22	50:20	
182:15	tight	127:18,21	title	totality	
	49:22	128:21		27:11,12,	
hinking	51:8	130:15	185:17	13 47:4	
40:18	time	132:6	today	72:11,20	
hirty	8:7 13:24	138:24	11:4,11	76:18,25	
132:7		146:5	12:14,17	77:1	
	19:18	147:10	15:23,24	Поттого	
housand	22:16	149:15	17:25	Towayan	
61:5	33:19	150:25	66:21	81:16,24	
80:8,25	34:5,7	151:1	118:5	82:9,12	
housands	38:19	152:12	151:9	85:18	
28:21	40:15	154:24	166:25	87:25	
47:7	43:3	155:23	187:16	Towayan's	
60:9,10	46:22		188:6	85:24	
	47:10,17,	156:4,14, 18 157:11	192:22,23	86:23	
hreat	23 48:1			<b></b> 1	
67:9,10,	53:21	164:2	today's	Trade	
11,12	54:4	166:17	8:7 16:19	68:7	
68:11,21	55:21	167:21	told	155:8	
159:9	57:14,23	170:8	80:12	trafficking	
168:3,5,6	59:14,22	171:5	92:18	57:20	
169:5,7	60:5	175:2	97:14	107:20	
171:23,24	61:21	182:16	102:6	A	
hreaten	63:14,22	183:1	121:18	train	
159:9	64:4	188:21	182:22	165:25	
	65:16	189:14,	183:14,24	tran	
hreatening	67:6	15,20,21	185:5,11	61:19	
187:20	72:13	190:24	189:12	+ wan a a a + i a n	
hreats	74:22	192:22		transaction	
141:9,10,	80:11,17,	timeline	tool	59:22	
12,14	18 83:25	152:18	169:6,8,9	60:25	
	84:8		tools	61:2	
humairy!	88:20	times	171:23	transaction	
75:10	95:4 96:2	20:8 34:3	1,1,4J	s	
78:16,17		43:12			



NATHAN M. WINER re: Terrorist Attacks on September 11, 2001			Index:	January 12, 20 Index: transferuncert		
31:4 55:1	116:11	trust	two-thirds	159:12		
60:16	162:18	185:24	46:3,5	163:7,22		
63:18	164:5	+ mu a + o d	<b></b>	165:1		
171:4	168:20	trusted	type	166:18		
	170:9	29:5	24:19	168:24		
cansfer		trusts	28:9	169:1,25		
58:16,23	treat	101:16	45:11	170:2,7		
59:6,12,	111:14	++h	46:11	177:1		
14,19,23	treated	truth	107:18	183:5		
60:3,5	71:1	9:9,10	115:2	187:12		
61:7,9,		185:18	136:5			
19,21	tremendous	tunnels	typed	uh-huh		
62:2	43:4	153:6	126:7	107:1		
63:2,7,	189:15			Ukraine		
12,14,23	tremendousl	turkey	types	181:23		
64:2,4	У	137:4	20:16	186:21		
ansfers	139:3	turn	25:20	100:21		
	107.0	12:3	124:8	ultimate		
61:14,15	trends	18:15	190:2	88:18		
145:2	112:14	19:4	typically	101:19		
146:19	trouble	27:22				
anslation	119:5	29:7,19	21:12,14	ultimately		
84:6	174:20	31:25	typo	66:22		
86:2,3	1/4:20		191:10	78:12,20		
89:21	troublesome	33:14,16		88:4		
134:10	159:12	36:16		138:25		
176:4,15,	+	45:4,21	υ	141:15		
24 178:22	troubling	52:12,21		154:8		
179:10	146:4	65:21	U.S.	Um - hmm		
170.10	183:4	66:1	8:6 19:14	88:24		
anslation	true	69:15,17	27:18	162:2		
	28:25	75:23	51:17	192:1		
174:14	29:1	81:8	77:3			
anslators	111:2,3	88:22	78:6,24	UN		
120:2	131:1	92:24	92:20	90:3,6		
120:2	144:1	95:6	102:3	92:1,19,		
ansnation	163:10	152:5	106:22	22 107:2		
	167:11	161:9	110:20	108:17		
131:13	107.11	turned		110:22		
156:15	Trump		115:11,	112:24		
1	183:3	32:21	12,16			
avel	185:4,7	152:13	124:24	unaware		
86:6	187:21	two-and-a-	127:1	39:5		
aveled	190:14	half	129:6,17	41:23		
135:9	The same 1 -	46:25	130:4	unbeliever		
	Trump's		141:2,3,	158:8		
reasury	185:7	two-page	5,11			
19:15	189:23	183:13	155:11,16	uncertain		
65:4			156:19	29:3		



unclassifie	171:16	unified	143:9,15	109:3,6,
i	understandi	189:18,19	144:16	15,25
41:5		union	145:5	
	<b>ng</b>		148:6	updates 108:23
unclear	33:1 40:8	111:5,8	152:8,16	
14:15	53:15	153:18	153:19	109:15
uncorrobora	54:6	154:6	155:6	upper
ted	78:16	unit	160:13,16	53:11
28:10	94:16	80:1	163:23	
29:13	109:24	162:12	164:24	<b>upset</b> 155:20
. 1 . 1 . 1	111:15	**	166:24	155:20
undated	115:21	United	171:7,17,	utterly
46:20	120:18	14:6	19,25	167:18
undefined	127:1	31:20	172:21	
139:21	130:22	32:5	180:2,5	
	133:9	33:2,11,	•	V
underground	150:1	13 34:6,	universal	
78:21	151:25	18 35:18	96:14,18	valuable
underlying	160:9	55:16	unknown	182:20
51:18	164:11	59:15,23,	22:17	_
70:25	167:18	24 60:6	22,17	values
141:7	176:23	63:15	unnecessary	150:6
	179:18	65:2	40:14	159:10
underpinned	183:18	66:12	unredacted	varieties
165:6	TT d d	67:2,7,10	174:6,13,	159:4
underscore	Understood	68:19	20 175:16	
166:7	13:18	73:17,22	20 175.10	variety
175:21	undertake	78:18,19	unreliable	21:16
	161:25	79:7,10	22:19	35:25
understand		85:9	39:19	36:3 45:3
11:12	undertaken	86:15	40:24	47:16
13:4 14:4	35:15	88:20	41:2,7,	169:12
15:6	58:10	99:5,20,	14,24	186:2
18:16	90:4	24 100:6,	42:2 47:3	Vegas
19:5	122:13	20 101:7,	71:8	190:12,
30:18	131:23	17,20	165:9	17,18
32:7	145:12	103:1		191:3
35:20	171:22	107:22,23	unsound	191.5
87:12	undertaking	117:2,8,	80:3	verse
95:24	92:21	14	unusual	134:3
102:7	165:25	118:14,15	129:21	version
104:10,		121:21		17:18
13,14	undertook	124:23	update	41:5
109:20	110:12	138:4,5	110:12	
113:3	122:14		149:8	122:6
115:20	unhappy	140:14,	updated	126:15
116:3	101:12	19,23	103:7	184:10
163:24	- V - • - L	142:5	104:19	



versions	31:9	146:1	111:18	170:23
119:20			112:11	
126:14	visible	war		windows
174:6	56:13	143:21	weeks	40:15
175:16	177:13,21	152:7	167:20	162:21
	178:1	154:5,7,	weigh	winds
ersus	vortex	22 164:25	25:6	147:9
171:10	165:21	165:5,6	weighed	winer
'ictoria		wars	25:15	8:4 9:7
182:3	7.7	168:20		11:1,2
183:10	W	Washington	weight	12:13
ictorious		8:9	25:6	15:17,23
154:12	Wahhabi	153:23	well-known	16:10,13
154:12	153:10	162:4	10:18	24 18:14
rideo	157:16,17	184:13	10.10	22:22,25
8:3,10	Wahhabis	185:1,16	west	26:20
riew	158:20,	103:1,10	78:20	52:18
51:10	24,25	water	152:2,7	65:23
123:18	•	98:8,9,	155:3,7	73:11
157:15	Wahhabism	11,18	159:9	76:2
158:7	149:24	ways	186:17	83:21
159:2	150:2,4,	34:3	western	84:17,25
183:21,23	12 158:23	117:10	68:5	88:21
187:24	waiting			89:16
188:6,9,	11:24	weak	white	90:21
10		98:7	8:14,16	93:20
	wake	wealth	118:2	99:12
riewed	153:8	133:13	159:8	103:20
169:24	WAMY	135:17	164:4	111:21
riews	12:22	136:20	whomever	121:21
123:18	14:10		97:15	133:6
157:17	16:6	wealthy		161:6
184:25	55:4,15	69:22	wide	173:11,19
	58:4	70:7	137:11	181:9
rigorous	59:21	71:24	166:16	191:15
101:17	148:17	weapons	widely	192:21
riolated		165:13	163:22	
123:7	wanted	1-	Wiki	Winer's
	11:10	web	168:23	16:8
riolation	12:15	99:17,20	100.25	wing
131:16	17:24	110:2	Wikileaks	187:22,23
142:21	80:7	website	168:24	
riolent	184:7,9	32:2,15,	win	withdrawal
68:2,15	191:9	23 99:19	42:19	160:4
153:10	wanting	100:17		withdrawals
tdd	136:12	102:14	wind	53:24
'irginia	140:15	103:23	158:5	JJ.44



		110.00	05 14	P
wittingly	working 22:10	119:22	95:14	Zoom
78:5		142:22	101:13	9:3,20,23
vord	77:24	167:20	104:11	161:15
30:18	79:25	writes	114:24	
48:21	82:22	168:19	119:24	
50:3,12	85:7	writing	131:1	
51:13	87:24,25	44:7	149:9	
66:25	99:2	79:17	159:1	
90:25	118:22	79:17	181:19	
91:5	123:16	written	182:10	
107:11,	138:18	70:12,21	184:3	
12,13,14,	144:20	74:12	186:25	
15,16,17	145:22	88:16	yesterday	
126:8	182:22	123:8	16:21	
186:16	187:5	151:17	176:14	
	world	160:1,2		
words	10:1	168:21	York	
50:19	12:20,22	178:2	8:7 77:4	
70:10	16:4		Yorker	
80:8,9	54:13,14	wrong	190:10	
122:15,19	55:1,4,15	27:17		
138:21	58:3	138:18	Youth	
145:19	59:21	166:2	10:2,3	
150:10	66:24	187:14	12:22	
168:11	68:7	wrongful	16:5	
work	95:19	138:11		
19:19,20,	137:7		Z	
23 27:9		wrote		
43:25	148:16	70:18,19		
64:23	155:8	184:13	Zarate	
65:6	157:15	185:15	168:17	
96:24	169:21	190:11	zivot	
	world's	-	133:7,16,	
102:21	157:22	Y	21 134:18	
116:3,23	worldwide		136:22	
153:21			143:24	
158:11,12	49:21		1 1 J • 4 T	
162:4,17	worse	140:19,23	zone	
163:11,13	158:9	141:21	147:11,	
164:19,23	omth	year	12,14	
166:15	worth	106:10	186:9	
172:4	40:14	117:18	zones	
181:17	wound	179:17	67:25	
185:7	140:4	1 / J ; 1 /		
189:15,20	154:11	years	137:9,22	
worked		28:21	138:10	
19:9	<b>write</b> 80:8	50:5	143:21,23	

